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EDITED BY

N P CHAKRAVARTI, M A , PH D ,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

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1. வாழ்க்கைப் பற்று - கதாபகாத - ம. அ. 1. 8 கி. பி.  
 2. 1. வாழ்க்கைப் பற்று - கதாபகாத - ம. அ. 1. 8 கி. பி.  
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- पासुलाखेटके स्थाने कच्छोके . उ — उ . [१\*] . . .  
 द्वितीयस्तु दत्त. शंभो. स्वभक्तिना<sup>(१)</sup>॥४५(४६)[१\*] वदनाख्ये(५)रघ्वे च  
 भूमै(मे)-
- 32 भर्गद्वय तथा ।  
 दत्तं श्रीमंडलोकेन स्वश्रेया(य)य(से) महेश(श)तः ॥४६(४७)[१\*]  
 पृष्ठे नग्नतडागस्य वरुणेश्व(श्व)र्यास्तथैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-  
 . उ — उ ॥४७(४८)[१\*] एवादित-  
 कृत्वा यावच्चद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिर्दत्ता सकेदारा बुध्वा(बुद्धा)
- 33 सांसारिक फलं ॥४८(४९)[१\*]  
 नट्टापाटकग्रामे भूरन्या देउलपाटके । भोग्यपुरे च पानाच्छामपरा  
 मडलद्रष्टे ॥४९(५०)[१\*] एवमेतेषु ग्रा[मेषु\*] . . .  
 [ल\*]क्षिता । भूमि श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेश्वर ॥५०(५१)[१\*]  
 एतच्च पु-
- 34 र ललनानूपुरभंकारमुखरिताभोग ।  
 भोगनिमित्तं शभोर्दत्त श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)[१\*] पुरेच सत्कद्रव्यस्य  
 भूरचट्टादिकस्य च [१\*] म . . . श  
 प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३)[१\*] तपस्वो(स्त्री) ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारि(री) ये(यः)[शु]चि-  
 दांता(तो) जितेंद्रि-
- 35 य ।  
 तेनात्र त(न)विः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या वारिकैः सह सर्वदा ॥५४\*॥ क॥  
 भरतो धुंधुमारश्च कार्तवीर्यो शिविवे(र्व)लि. । हरिश्चद्र(श्चन्द्र)स्तु  
 माधाता नलो वेणुर्नृपाद[यः] ॥५५\*॥ . . . उ —  
 . . . जान (ता) वरपूरिता । तप्यायुषि परिशीणि ग[ता]  
 कृतां(कार्त्ता)तिक पुर ॥५६\*॥
- 36 मत्तै[त\*]दस्थिरं सर्वं राज्यमायुधं नृपै. ।  
 न लोप्य सि(शि)वसंबंधि वस्तु स्तोत्रं(कम)पि यद्भवेत् [५७\*] यतः  
 [१\*] भवज्ञानाज्यमज्ञा(ज्ञ)नाद्यतिष्ठतं करजोद[रि] [१\*]  
 . . . उ — . . . हरिद्विप ॥५८\*॥ विसे(शि)षत. ।  
 अस्मदसे(शे)य — विषये भो-
- 37 क्ताच यो भवेत् ।  
 तस्यास्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था (र्चा) सि(शि)वदत्त न चालयेत् ॥५९\*॥ अस्ति  
 प्रत्यवनीस(श)चक्रमुकुटसृष्टाद्विपीठश्रियः ।<sup>1</sup> ओकोदडचतु[र्भू]-  
 — उ — उ — उ — उ — उ — [१\*] [ते\*]नेय स्फुटवर्णपा-  
 कपटिमप्रौढे. पदाड[व(व)रै.] संदृष्टा सुम-

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres —Vv 1, 13 and 14, *Māhī*, vv 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā*, vv 4, 11 and 17, *Vasantatilakā*, v 7, *Sragdharā*, vv 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Anushtubh*, vv 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā*, vv 12 and 21, *Upēndravajrā*, vv 15, 16 and 39, *Śikharinī*, v 18, *Prithvī*, v 19, *Harinī*]

1 ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ओ नमो वोतरागाय ॥

स जयतु जिनभानुर्भवराजोवराजोजनितवरविकाशो दत्तलोकप्रकाशः ।  
परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थित यत्पुरस्तात्क्षणमपि चपलासद्वादिवद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥

2 आसोच्छीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमडलीकाभिध कन्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेर्निधनकृच्छ्री-  
सिधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालवालक इतश्चामुडराजो नृपो योवति-  
प्रभुसाधनानि व(व)हुशो हंति स्म

3 देशे स्थली(त्याम्) ॥२॥  
श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुतो जयति जगति विततयशाः । सुभगो  
जितारिवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्तनवरं तलपाटकाख्य  
प्रख्याङ्गनाजनजिता-

4 मरसुंदरीकम् ।  
अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमंदिरवैजयन्तीविस्ताररुद्धदिननाथकरप्र[चा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-  
रवशशेखरमणिर्निशेषशास्त्राम्बु(म्बु)धिर्जनेन्द्रागमवासनारसमुधाविहास्यम[ज्जो]भवत् ।  
5 श्रीमानव(व)टसन्नकः कलिव(व)हिर्भूतो भिषगा(ग्रा)मणौर्गाहस्येपि निकंचिताक्ष-  
प(प्र)सरो देशव्रतालंकृतः ॥५॥ यस्यावश्यककर्मनिष्ठितमते[नि]ष्टा वनातिभव-  
न्तेवासिवदाहिताजलिपुटा-<sup>3</sup>

6 श्रीराः कृतोपासनाः ।  
यस्यनन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[श्च]मत्कारिता शुश्रूषां विदधे सुतेव सततं  
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(रो) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य सूनुः समजनि जनितानेकभव्य-  
प्रपो(मो)दः

7 प्रादुर्भू-  
तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृष्ट्वा श्रुतानां [1\*] सर्वायुर्वेदवेदी विहितसकल-  
रुक्तातलोकानुकपो ।<sup>4</sup> निर्नी(णी)ताशेषदोषप्रकृतिरपगदस्तप्रतोकारसारः ॥७॥ तस्य  
पुत्रास्तयोभूवन्भूरिशा-

8 स्वविशारदा ।  
आलाके साहसाख्यश्च लङ्गुकाख्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ यस्तत्राद्यः सहजविशदप्रज्ञया  
भासमानः स्वातादर्शस्फुरितसकलैतिह्यतत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्फुटतरगुणव्य-

<sup>1</sup> From the original inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> The strokes are redundant.

<sup>4</sup> Dardā unnecessary

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- 9 क्तसम्पक्क(र्क)भावः ते(वस्ते)-  
स्तेर्हानप्रभृतिभिरपि स्तोपयोगोक्तश्रीः ॥८॥[\*] आधा[रो] यः स्वकुल-  
समिते साधुवर्गस्य चाभूदध्रे शीलं सकलजनताल्हादि रूप च काये । पात्री-  
भूत कृतयतिष्ठतीना ।
- 10 श्रुताना प्रि(श्रि)या च  
सानदाना धुरमुदवहङ्गोगिनां योगिनां च ॥९॥ यो मा[थु]रान्वयनभस्तल-  
तिग्म[भा]नोर्व्याख्यानरंजितसमस्तसभाजनस्य । श्रीच्छत्रसेनसुगुरोश्चरणारविदसे-
- 11 वापरोभवदनन्यमना. सदैव ॥११॥  
तस्य प्रशस्तामलशीलवत्यां होनाभिधाया वरधर्मपत्न्या । त्रयो व(ब)भूवुस्त-  
नया नयाद्या विवेकवतो भुवि रत्नभूता ॥१२॥ अभवदमल-
- 12 वो(बो)धः पा[हु]कस्तत्र पूर्वः  
कृतगुरुजनभक्तिः सत्कुशाग्रीयवु(बु)द्धि । जिनवचसि यदीयप्रश्नजाले विशाले  
गणभृदपि विमुह्येत्कैव वार्त्तापरस्य(स्य) ॥१३॥ करणचरणरूपानेक-
- 13 शास्त्रप्रवोणः  
परिहृतविषयार्थो दानतोर्यप्रवृत्तः । श्रमनियमितचित्तो जातवैराग्यभावः कलि-  
कलिलविमुक्तोपा(वा)सकी[वो]य प्रभाव्यः ॥१४॥ कनिष्ठस्तस्याभूद्भुवनविदितो भूषण-  
इति श्रियः पात्रं
- 14 कांतिः कुलगृहसुमायाश्च वसतिः ।  
सरस्वत्या क्रोडागिरिरमलवु(बु)द्धेरतिरना(?) क्षमावर्ण्या कंदं प्रवितर्तकपायाश्च  
निलयं ॥१५॥ स्मरं सौख्येण प्रव(ब)ल[सुभ]गत्वेन शशभृत् कुवे(बे)रः  
सप-
- 15 त्या समधिकविवेकेन धिषेण ।  
महोन्नत्या मेरुर्जलनिधिरगाधेन मनसा ।<sup>2</sup> विदग्धत्वेनोच्चैर्य इह वरविद्याधर  
इव ॥१६॥ जैनेन्द्रसा(शा)सनसरोवरराजहंसो मौनीन्द्रपादकमलद्वय-
- 16 चचरोकः ।  
निःशेषशास्त्रनिवहोदकनाथनक्रं ।<sup>2</sup> सोमतिनीनयनकैरच(व)चारुचद्र ॥१७॥  
विदग्धजनवत्तम सरससारशंगारवानुदारश्च(च)रितश्च य सुभगसौम्यमूर्त्ति  
सुधोः । प्रसाद-
- 17 व(न)परानमहरविलासनीकतल-  
व्यप(पा)स्तपदपंकजद्वितयरंगुरत्युन्नत ॥१८॥ प्रथमधवलप्राये [चै]त्ये गतेपि  
दिवं पुन. ।<sup>2</sup> कुलरथभरो येनैकेनाप्यसंभ्रममुद्धृत । गुरुतरविप-

<sup>1</sup> [Muni Panyaviyaya of Pāṭaṇ suggests सपास्तकोपः—Ed.]<sup>2</sup> Punctuation unnecessary

- 18 ऋत्तंयावद्य[ह]दुदतारि च  
स्थिरमतिमहास्थान्ना नीतो विभूतिगिरिः शिरः ॥१८॥ द्वे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः  
लक्ष्मीशीलीतिविश्रुते । पतिव्रतत्वसंयुक्ते चारित्र्यगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥[\*] स [शी]-
- 19 लिकायामुदपादि पुत्रान्सन्नामयोग्यागुरुदेवभक्तः ।  
अलोकसाधारणशक्तिमु[ख्या]न्स्ववंधु(वन्धु)चित्ताञ्ज(ञ)विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ आयुस्त-  
ममहोन्नसारनिहितस्तोकांस्वु(स्व)वन्नस्व(श्च)र
- 20 सचित्य द्विपकर्णचचलतरां लक्ष्म्याश्च दृष्ट्वा स्थितिं । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रसुनिश्चया-  
त्स्थिरतरि नूनं ७ — — ७ सी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनगृहं भूमेरिदं  
भूषणं(णम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य क-
- 21 निष्ठो(ष्ठ) श्रीलङ्काक इति विश्रुतः ।  
देवपूजापरो नित्य भ्रातुरादेशकत्सदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठः) पाङ्कजनामा यः सोऽ-  
कायामजोजनत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमन्व(स्व)टसंज्ञकं(कम्) २४[\*\*]
- 22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्षुत्तरशतेन संयुक्ते ।  
विक्रमभानोः काले स्थलि(ली)विषयमवति सति विजयरान्ने ॥२५॥ विक्रम-  
संवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि ३ सोमे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
- 23 श्रीवृषभनाथनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विंव(विम्ब)भिदं ।  
उत्पूणकनगरस्मिन्निह जगतौ(त्यां) वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥ सुगलं ॥०॥ तुर्यहस्ता  
त्वसारभ्य वृत्तात्ये(न्ये)तानि षोडश । आद्यवृत्ते-
- 24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको बु(बु)धः ॥२७॥  
भाइल्लो वल्लवसे(शे)भूतजः श्रीसावडो द्विजः । तत्सुनोर्भाटुकख्येयं निःशेषाद्या-  
परा कतिः ॥२८॥ वालभ्यान्वयकायस्थराजपालस्य
- 25 सुतुना ।  
संधिविग्रहसंस्थेन लिखिता वाम[ने]न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्वावणरामयोः सुनरितं  
भूमौ जनैर्गीयते ।<sup>1</sup> यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति व्योमन्यस्ति यावच्छशी । अहं-
- 26 इक्ष्वाकिनिर्गतं अवणकैः यावत्सु(च्छु)तं पठ्यते तावत्कीर्ति-  
रियं चिराय जयतात्संस्तूयमाना(ना) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कीर्णा विज्ञानिकसूमा-  
केन ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥
- 27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीनवासनिलय विलीनकिल(कलु)षं निधाय इदि वीर ।  
आत्मनुशास(स)नमहं व[च्छे] जायतुध्यानां<sup>2</sup>(?)॥१॥(३१) दुःखादि(दि)भेषि नितराम-  
भिवाच्छसि सुखमतोहमध्यात्मन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

<sup>1</sup> Danda unnecessary<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we have to read सीचाय रोध्यानां<sup>०</sup>—Ed

- 28 करमनुसा(श)स्मि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(३२)॥  
यद्यपि कदाचिदस्मिन्विपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किञ्चित् । त्व तस्मान्मा भेषो-  
र्यथातुरो भेषजादुयात् ॥३(३३)॥ जना घनाश्च वाचालाः सुलभाः स्युर्व्यो-  
स्थिता । दुर्ल-
- 29 भा ह्यंतरार्दास्ते जगदस(स)जिह्वीर्षवः ॥४(३४)॥  
परायत्तालुखादुख स्वायत्तं केवल वर । अन्यथा सुखिनामानङ्गथमा[र्त्ता]  
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(३५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरक्षे स्वतस्तत इतो न्यतः । सर्व्वतः  
पतनप्राये
- 30 काये कीय तवाग्र हः ॥६(३६)॥  
अवस्यं(श्र्यं) नस्व(श्व)रैरेभिरायुःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्व(शाश्व)तं पदमायाति  
मुधायामवैहि ते ॥७(३७)॥ गंतुमुच्छासनिःस्वासे<sup>१</sup>रभ्यस्यत्येष संतत । लोकः  
प्रथमितो<sup>२</sup> वाक्यत्मा-
- 31 [नमज\*]रामर ॥८(३८)॥  
गलत्यायुः प्रायः प्रकटितघटोयचश(स)लिलं खलुः(लः) कायोप्यायुः गतिमभिपतत्येष  
सतत । किमस्य(प्य)न्यैरन्यैर्द्वयमयमिदं जिवितमिह स्थितो भ्रांत्यानाविस्त(?)  
मिव मनुजे स्थासु मरण(णम्)<sup>३</sup> [॥\*] ६(३९) [॥\*]

## No 10 —MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28

BY STEN KONOW

In a field opposite the Chaurāsī Jaina temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a well called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6' 7" high and 11 8" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.<sup>3</sup>

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushāna type. In l 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Buhler<sup>4</sup> explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

<sup>1</sup> Read प्राथमिकी

<sup>2</sup> मरण is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *kāka pada* before it.

<sup>3</sup> After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.* XVIII, pp 4 ff, and noticed by Mr Harit Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Palaeography*, § 36, C 5

the first edicts in the Kālsī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 500.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual *akṣaras* is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved, cf. *anādhānām*, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *śū*, ll. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *śā*, l. 6, at the bottom. The *u-mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *n* (l. 4), *p* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9-13), *m* (l. 6) and *h* (l. 10), an upward slope after *t* (ll. 3, 4) and *ś* (l. 4), a downward slope after *k* (l. 7) and *r* (l. 2), and a forward stroke after *t* (l. 11). *R* is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ya* in *dhārya*, l. 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *ye*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anusvāra* is frequently omitted; cf. *siddha*, l. 1, if we should not read *siddham*, *punya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *nīn*, l. 3, *nvi*, l. 11, *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9, *patina* side by side with *patinā*, l. 3, *pībasitānam*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *tutō* for *tātō*, l. 3, *babhakshitāna pībasitānam* for *bubhukshitānām pīpāsītānām*, l. 9, *anādhānām* for *anāthānām*, l. 8, *sarāyē* for *sarvāyē*, l. 11, *visarga* before *t*, l. 10 etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ri*-vowel occurs in *vriddhitō*, l. 3, *kritēna* l. 8. The form *laṛina* for *lavana*, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* and the *Chhândogya-Upanishad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ri* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s*-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *śaku*, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R*-compounds such as *pr*, *br* and *tr* are preserved throughout, and the *ts* in *samvatsarē*, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmana*, l. 5, *yachatra*, *ie*, *yachchātra*, l. 9, *priyah*, *yēshā*, *tēshām*, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous **Prakritisms**. Compare *prasthō*, l. 7, *dēvaputro*, l. 10, *ādihakā*, l. 6, *śāhssya*, l. 10, *śālāyē*, l. 6, *prūhvīyē*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural, pronominal forms such as *ayam* for *vyam*, l. 1, *tam* for *tad*, l. 9, *etam* for *ētaḥ*, l. 8, *dinnā* for *dattā*, ll. 3, 11, *dhārya*, l. 6, *chatudasi* for *chaturdaśi*, l. 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of Gurpīya in the year 28, and we learn from ll. 9f. that the Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka was then on the throne.

Gurpīya is the Macedonian month **Gorpaios**, corresponding to the Indian **Prōshthapada**, and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a **Brāhmī inscription**. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is a priori likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hittite inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellaios 28. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A D, and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.<sup>1</sup>

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Śaka, and that this Śaka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāna rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.<sup>2</sup> It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A D 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who repeated an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era *ēyam pāsamgnyam samakkhāyam Sagakāla-jūnanattham*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.<sup>3</sup> And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-chen, i e, Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen Kao-chen's predecessor, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, i e, Kujūla Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Śaka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, i e, in the fifth century A D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A D). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A D, and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Śaka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

<sup>1</sup> Cf especially Professor Rapson, *J R A S*, 1930, pp 186 ff

<sup>2</sup> *J R A S*, 1913, pp 287 ff

<sup>3</sup> In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Sāstri, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, *e g*, by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Śaka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi<sup>1</sup> about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shāhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yue-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A D 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Śaka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A D 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Śaka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā<sup>2</sup>.

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hēmana, *i e*, of Pausa, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Shāhi*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāna was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāna power, in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purport of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *punyaśālā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akshaya nivi*, *i e*, a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *śrēṇīs* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 550 *puṇas* each. The name of the first *śrēṇī* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two *aksharas rāka*. The second was the *śamutakara-śrēṇī*, *i e*, probably the makers of *śamutā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmanas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing *sādyam* to be synonymous with *sadyah*), *viz*, 3 *ādhaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, 3 *ghataka* and five *mallaka harita-kalāpaka*. The reading *saktunā*, *i e*, *saktūnām*, is uncertain, the *akshara ktu* being apparently identical with *kṛ* in *kṛtenā*, 18. The meaning of the word *śaku* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Harita kalāpaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *ādhaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghataka*, jar, and *mallaka*, bowl.

The *punyaśālā* is characterised as *prāchinī*, *i e*, evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chatudis*, *i e*, *chaturdis*, opening towards the four quarters.

<sup>1</sup> *J A IX*, ix, 1897, p 26, *Ind Ant*, XXXII, 1903, p 422

<sup>2</sup> Cf the Kankālī Tila inscription of the year 209, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānaputra Kharāsalērapati Vakanapati*

The first term may be compared with *Kushāna[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māt near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.<sup>1</sup> Mr Jayaswal<sup>2</sup> has explained this word as 'son of Kushāna', taking Kushāna to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaja Gushana* of the Panjar and the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Khushana* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Tan Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i.e., 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonano shar Kaneshli Koshano*,<sup>3</sup> where *Koshano* is explained as *Kaushāna* meaning 'descendant of Kushāna'. I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māt inscription is *Mahārājā Rājātrājā dēvaputrō Kushāna[m]putr[ō shāhi Vamata] kshamasya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources.<sup>4</sup> Here *Kushāna[m]putra* follows after *dēvaputra*, i.e., 'a gods' son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāna[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushānas' son,' a Kushāna scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāna*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang,' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai'. The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Ta-hia that there were five principalities: Hui-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-fu, each under one *hi-hou*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yue-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-fu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'iu-tsiu-k'io, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Koshano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kaushānō*. The legends are written in Saka,<sup>5</sup> and in Saka *koshano*, i.e., *kushānu*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kiu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāmanditika*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the Kiu-sha.<sup>6</sup> We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāna[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushānam putra*, a son, i.e., scion, of the Kushas, as proposed by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein<sup>7</sup> who reads *Kushānam putrō*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāna* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāna* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balysāna*, lordly, from *balysa*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushana*, *khushana* in the Kharōshthī inscriptions mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> *A S I* 1911 12, pp 120 ff

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S* VI, pp 12 ff

<sup>3</sup> In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend

<sup>4</sup> We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, *A S I A R* 1912 13, p 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

<sup>5</sup> *Z D M G*, 68, 1914, pp 85 ff

<sup>6</sup> Asvaghosa, *Sūtrālamkāra*, traduit par Édouard Huber Paris 1908, p 158. The Sanskrit original has [ku]ṇ, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, s. Luders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditika* des Ku. māralata, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *S P A W*, 1914, pp 643 ff



I therefore think that *Kushāna[m]putra* in the Māt inscription must mean 'Kushāna scion'. And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukamānaputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāna scion,' or, 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas', though it is possible that *Kanasarukamāna* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchinikana Sarukamāna putrēna*, by the scion of the eastern Sarukamas, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prāchinikana* in that case standing for *prāchīnakānām*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukamāna*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Saraucae*, mentioned by Trogus,<sup>1</sup> for which other sources have *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaurakoi*, and *Sacaraucae*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāsalērapati* and *Vakanapati*, i.e., the ruler of *Kharāsalēra* and *Vakana*, are likewise unexplained. *Vakanapati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakanapati* in the Māt inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of *Vamataleshama* is described as *Bakanapatina Hum*<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known *Wakhān*, which occurs as *Vokhāna* in other sources, such as the *Dnyāvādāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hum* following after *Bakanapatina* in the *Mathurā* inscription with the old name of *Wakhān* represented by Chinese *Hu-mu*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Ho-mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,<sup>3</sup> *Badakshān* remained the stronghold of the *Yüe chi* down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in *Mathurā*, it would be natural for chiefs from the North-West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the *Macedonian* calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

#### TEXT <sup>4</sup>

- L 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> Samvatsarē 20 8 Gurppiya divasē 1 avarā puṇva-  
 L 2 śālā prāchmī **Kanasarukamāna** - putrēṇa **Kharāsalē-**  
 L 3 rapatīn[ā] **Vakanapatīnā** akshaya nīvi dinn[ā] Tu(ta)tō vṛiddhi]  
 L 4 tō mās-ānumāsam śuddhasya chatudīṇi puṇva śū[li]-  
 L 5 yam brāhmaṇa-satam parivishitavyam divasē diva[sō]  
 L 6 cha puṇya-śālāyē dvāra mu(ū)lē dhāriya śādyam saktunū<sup>6</sup> ā  
 L 7 dhakā 3 lavina-prasthō 1 śaku prasthō 1 harita-kalūpaka-  
 L 8 ghatak[ā] 3 mallak[ā] 5 ētam anādh[ā]nām<sup>7</sup> kṛitēna dātavva[m\*]  
 L 9 babhakshitāna pibastānam<sup>8</sup> Yach[ā]tra puṇya[\*m] tam dēvaputrasva

<sup>1</sup>Prol 41, 42. Deinde quo regnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianes. Reges Thocarorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.

<sup>2</sup>To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jaysawal's explanation of those terms.

<sup>3</sup>T'oung Pao II, viii, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup>For the facsimile see plate facing page 6, *J B O R S*, Vol. XVIII (1932) — Ed.

<sup>5</sup>Perhaps *siddha* <sup>6</sup>Read *saktunām* <sup>7</sup>Read *anāthānām* <sup>8</sup>Read *bubhukshitānām pibastānām*

L 10	Shāhisva	Huvishkasya <sup>1</sup>	ṣēshā[m*]	cha	dēvaputro	privah	tēshām =api
							punva[m*]
L 11	bhavatu	sarvāvi <sup>2</sup>	cha	pūthivivē	punva[m*]	bhavatu	akshaya-nivi <sup>3</sup>
							dinn[ā]
L 12		[r]āka-srēn[i]vē	purāna-sata	500	50	Samitakara-srēnī-	
L 13	[vē	cha*]	purāna-sata	500	50		

## TRANSLATION

Success In the year 28, on the first day of **Gorpiaios**, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmanas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *ādhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, three *ghataka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka**, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the *-rāka-guild*, 550 *purāna*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 550 *purāna*.

## No 11 — ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

BY PROFESSOR J PH VOGEL, PH D, LEIDEN

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgārjunikonda** edited by me in this journal<sup>4</sup> Mr Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

**Āyaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No 5**

At the south-eastern foot of the Nāgārjunikonda Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetrīya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No 4), a *stūpa* (No 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *mandapa*. The site of the *stūpa* was marked by a large mound of brick debris overgrown with jungle and locally known as Itikarāllabōdu. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter G in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen Bhat(t)idevā, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of Vāsethiput(t)a Sirī-Chātāmūla, the consort of Mādhariput(t)a Sirī-Virapurisadat(t)a and the mother of Sirī-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *vihāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the Bahusut(t)īya sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the *stūpa* No 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Looks almost like *Puvishkasya*

<sup>2</sup> Read *sarvāyē*

<sup>3</sup> Read *nvi*.

<sup>4</sup> Vol XX, pp 1-27

tion *G* They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call *G2* and *G3*, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Sirī-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription *G2* is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *samkappasa*, *Purisadattasa*, *bhayyāya*, *Bhattidevāya*) and even in *°patti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Virūpakkha*, *patitthapito*, *Ikkhākunam*, *pakkham*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *agithoma*, *savathesu*, *samvachharam*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

The final *m* in *siddham* (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

### Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2

#### Transcript

(L. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhassa Mahārājasa (l. 2) Virūpakkhapatti Mahāsena-parigahitassa agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājape- (l. 3) v-[\*ā]samedha yājisa aneka hiraṇṇa-koṭi go-sata-sahassa-hala-satasaha- (l. 4) [sa-padāyī]sa savathesu apatihata-samkappasa Vāsithiputtasa Ikkhā[kunam] (l. 5) Sirī-Chamtamulasa sunhāya mahārājasa Mā[ṭha]riputtasa Sirī Virapuri- (l. 6) sadattasa bhayyāya mahādeviāya [Bhattidevāya] deyadhamma mmam sava-jātaniyuto (l. 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahusutiyāna[m] patitthapito Rāṇo Vāsithiputtasa Ikkh[ā]kūnaṃ (l. 8) Sirī-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūlassa samvachharam bitiyam gimha pakkham chhaṭham 6 divasaṃ dasamam 10

### TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusut[ī]va sect by Mahādevī [Bhattidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsi[t]thiputta Sirī-Chāmtamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpakkhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēva, and Aāvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māṭhariputta Sirī-Virapurisadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsi[t]thiputta Sirī-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

### Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3

#### Transcript

(L. 1) Siddham namo bha[gava]to (l. 2) Buddhassa Mahārājasa Vir[ū]pakkhapatti-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [pa]rigahitassa agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājapey-[\*ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājisa hiraṇṇa-koṭi go-sata-sahassa-ha- (l. 5) la-satasahassa-padāyisa savathesu apa- (l. 6) tihata-samkappasa Vāseṭhiputtasa Ikkhākuna[m] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chamtamulasa sunhāya mahārājasa (l. 8) Mā[ṭha]riputtasa Ikkhākunaṃ Sirī-Virapu- (l. 9) sadattasa bhayyāya mahādeviāya Bha- (l. 10) -ttidevāya deyadhamo ayaṃ Devī-vi- (l. 11) hār[o] sava-jātaniyuto achariyānam [Ba-] (l. 12) husutiy[\*ā]na[m] patitthapito Rāṇo Sirī-Ehu- (l. 13) vuḷa-Chātamulassa sa[m]vachhara bitiya gimha-pakha (l. 14) [chhaṭham] divasam dasamam

### TRANSLATION.

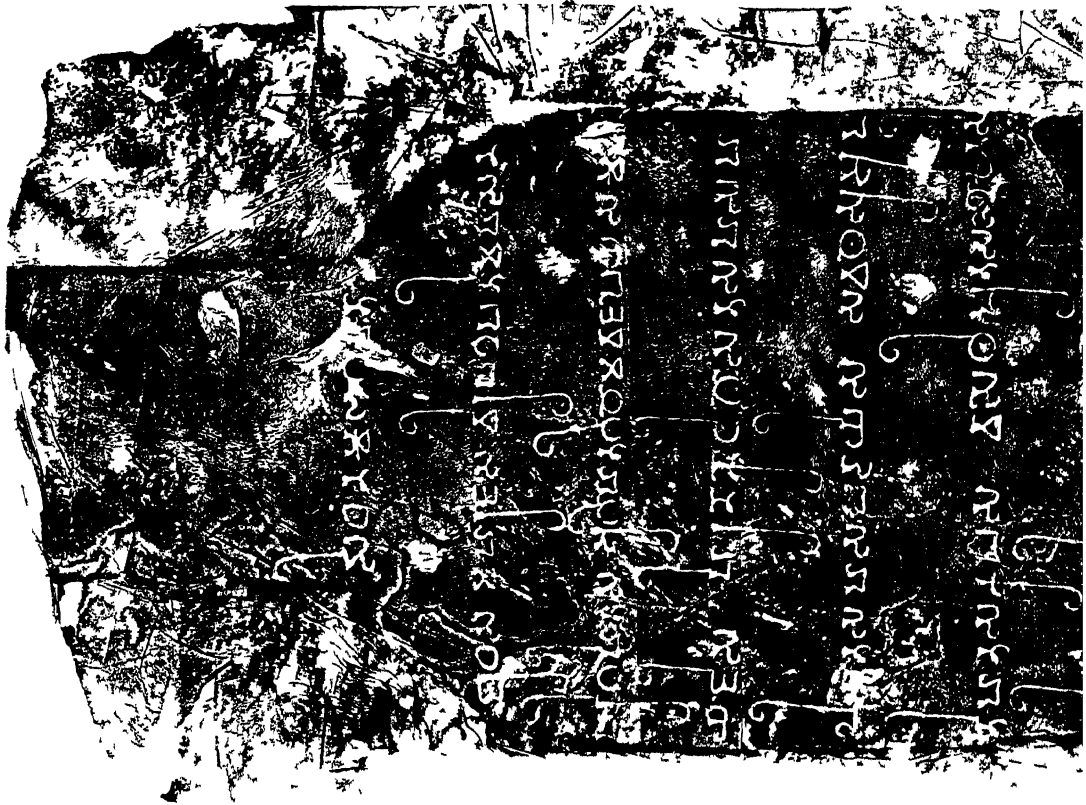
Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-

ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (I)

G-2



G-3



2

4

6

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः  
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः  
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः

ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (I)

PILLAR WITH INSCRIPTION L



From a photograph



suttiva sect by Mahādevī Bhatidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīput[t]a Sirī-Chāmtamūla, of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīput[t]a Sirī-Virapurisadat[t]a of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Sirī-Ehuvula-Chātamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day

#### Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure, but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *rātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāmara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,<sup>1</sup> attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men, most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsithīput(t)a Sirī-Chāmtamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāmtamūla's son, King Mādharīput(t)a Sirī-Virapurisadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāmtamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāmtamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

#### Pillar-inscription L.

##### Transcript

(L 1) Sidham Mahārājasa asamedha-vājisa aneka-hirana-kotī-padāyasa (1 2) Sirī-Chāmtamūlasa putasa raño Mā[dha]rīputasa [Ikhākunam] Sirī-Virapurisadatasa (1 3)

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks in *A S R*, 1929 30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda —Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly ingots of gift money —Ed.



vasasanaya samvachhara vimsaya[m] vāsa pakham prathama[m] divasa[m] bitva[m] saga-gatasa (l 4) raño agihot-[\*ā]githoma-vājapev-[\*ā]samedha yāṣa hirana-koti-go-satasahasa- (l 5) hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-samkapasa V[āsi]thiputasa (l 6) I[Khā]kusa [sāmi-]Siri-Chamtamūlasa sahodar[ā]hi m[ā]tahi mah[ā]deviḥi Sunītisiriya (l 7) Khamdasiriya Viḥathavisiriya Mi[sā]siriya Samusiriya [Nā]ga[va]susiriya (l 8) [Nā]gasiriya Khamdakotisiriya Mahisarasiriya Ratumatisiriya Mūlasiriya (l 9) Ayakotusiriya Maduvisiriya [Nā]gasiriya [Rā]masiriya Golasiriya (l 10) Velisiriya [E]dhisiriya Kham[ā]dasiriya Satihisiriya Parajatisiriya (l 11) Pamditasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudasiriya Bapisiriya Nadisiriya (l 12) Ayasiriya Ratusiriya Si[vanāga]siriya subhatarikāhi cha (l 13) Sarasikāya Kusuma latāya [i]ya[m] \*tha[m]bho

### TRANSLATION

Success<sup>1</sup> In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Vāḍhariput[t]a Siri Virapurisadat[t]a of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chamtamūla, the offerer of an Aśvamēdha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season the second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late<sup>2</sup> Rājan Vāsi-[t]hiput[t]a Svāmin Siri-Chamtamūla, etc., (see above, sub (i) 2), (to wit) by Sunītisiri, Khamdasiri, Viḥathavisiri, Mi[sā]siri, Samusiri, [Nā]ga[va]susiri, [Nā]gasiri, Khamdakotisiri, Mahisarasiri, Ratumatisiri, Mūlasiri, Ayakotusiri, Maduvisiri, [Nā]gasiri, Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Velisiri, Edhisiri, Khamdasiri, Satihisiri, Parajatisiri, Pamditasiri, Sivanāgasiri, Samudasiri, Bapisiri, Nadisiri, Ayasiri, Ratusiri, Si[vanāga]siri and by the subhatarikās Sarasikā and Kusumalatā

### Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (mandapa) of Chāhntisiri

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement,<sup>4</sup> was founded by Chāhntisiri, the maternal aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadata in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortice to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 1 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 16, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.<sup>5</sup> From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few aksharas preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages,

<sup>1</sup> There is *anusvara* above this letter and the akshara is more like ऋ. The reading might be Kamhiha. —Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Prakrit *saggagata*, Skt. *svargagata*, lit. 'gone to heaven'.

<sup>3</sup> It seems to read *cha dāya*. —Ed.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Ind*, vol XX, p 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription F, plate III.

<sup>5</sup> In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (lions?) running to the left. Cf. *Ep Ind*, vol XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E*. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *mandapa* by the same lady Chāmtisiri (or Chātisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Ācharyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Apāramahāvīnaseliyas<sup>1</sup>. The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (*M 4*), it is the 15th year of the reign of Sīri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (*M 11*), however, retains the *aksharas* -ta and -ra which can easily be restored into *mantava*. It should be remembered that the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E* refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*saranyuta[m] chātusāla-parigahitam sela-mantava[m]*). There can be little doubt that this stone *mandapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chatusālā* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

#### Reign of King Mātharīputta Sīri-Vīrapurisadatta

*6th year*—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Ācharyas*) of the Apāramahāvīnaseliya sect

*14th year*—Second apsidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri

*15th year*—Pillared *mandapa* founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated as above

*18th year*—First apsidal temple founded by Chāmtisiri and dedicated as above

*20th year*—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāsethīputta Sīri-Chāmtamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts

[*20th year*—Five *āyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggayyapeta) by the artisan Siddhattha]

#### Reign of King Vāsethīputta Sīri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla

*2nd year*—Monastery (No 4) founded by Bhat(t)idevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Ācharyas*) of the Bahus(s)utiya<sup>2</sup> sect

*11th year*—Monastery (No 5), founded by Kōdabalasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāsāsaka<sup>3</sup> sect

#### Pillar-inscriptions M1-19

*Transcripts*<sup>4</sup>

#### Pillar-inscription M 1

- (1 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa (1 2) aneka-hirama-koti-padāyisa Sīri-Chāmtamūlasa  
(1 3) sahodarā bhagmī mahāsenāpatisa (1 4) mahātalavara-Vasithīputasa Pūkiyanam  
(1 5) Kamdasirisa bhari[yā] mahātalavari Chāmtisiri (1 6) [a]paṇo jāmātukasa ramāṇo

<sup>1</sup> Sanskrit *Apārasūtiya* (?)

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *Bahusūtiya* Pali *Bahussūtiya*

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *Mahāsāsaka*, Pali *Mahāśāsaka*

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving translations

Mātharipu[\*ta]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l 7) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike veja[y]i[ke]  
(l 8) [\*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhani [\*vānathanāya]

**Pillar-inscription M 2.**

(l 1) [Apatihata-sam]kapasa [Vā]si[th]iputa[sa] Pūkiyānam (l 2) [Kamda]sirisā  
bhariyā Khamdasāgaramnaka-mātā (l 3) [Siri-Virapu]risadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike  
cha (l 4) atichhitam-anāgata-vatamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l 5) [mahāchetiya-  
pā]damūle Aparamah[ā]vinase[h]iyanam pari-[gahe] (l 6) . . [bhikhu]saṃghasa  
patithapitam ti

**Pillar-inscription M 3.**

(l 1) atichhi[tam-anāgata-vatamānake] (l 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-  
sukha-nivānathanāya (l 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamule pavajitānam (l 4) [nānā]desa-  
saman-āgatānam mahābhikhu-saṃghasa pa[rigahe] (l 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasa vasasanāya  
samva 10 [\*+] 5 vā (l 6) [Aparama]hāvinaseliyanam parigahe sa-chātu[sā]la  
(l 7) [pa]tithapita[m]ti

**Pillar-inscription M 4.**

(l 1) [ni]yutam chātusāla-pangahita  
(l 2) [Si]ri-Virapurisadatasa samva 10 [\*+] 5 vā pa 8 [diva] ....

**Pillar-inscription M 5.**

(l 1) [Kamdasirisā]  
(l 2) [-m]ātā Chāmtisiri apa[no] jāmātukasa]  
(l 3) [ramño Mātharipu]-tasa Ikhākunarh  
(l 4) [āyu]-vadhanike vijaya-vijayike  
(l 5) [hita-su]kha-nivānathanāya bhagavato  
(l 6) mahāchetiya-pādamūle

**Pillar-inscription M 6.**

(l 1) sayathesu apat[ihata-sam]kapasa ]  
(l 2) Ikhākusa Siri-Chamtamūlasa sa[hodarā . ]  
(l 3) [ma]hātala-arasa Vāsithiputasa  
(l 4) [mahā]talavari  
(l 5) Mātha[riputasa]

**Pillar-inscription M 7.**

(l 1) ni  
(l 2) Kamdasirisā  
(l 3) Chā[m]tisiri apano . .

**Pillar-inscription M 8.**

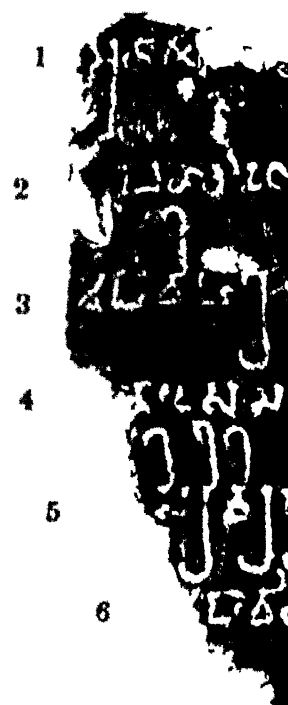
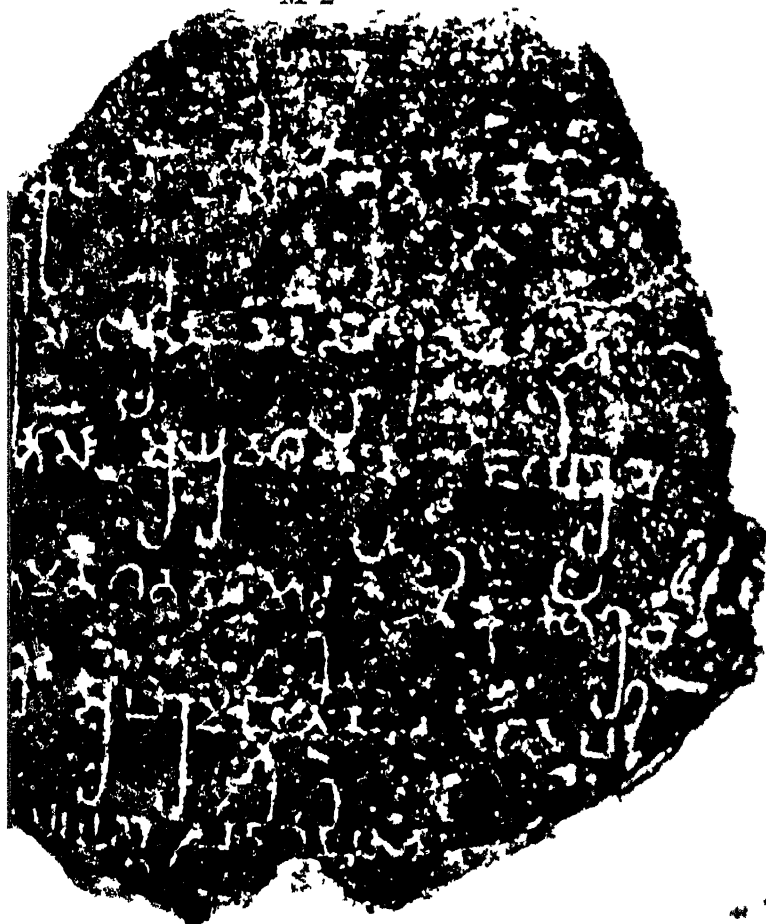
(l 1) . . [asame]dhayāyisa  
(l 2) . . [sata]sahasa-hala-satasahasa-[padāyisa] . .  
(l 3) . . [apati]hata samkapasa Vāsithipu[tasa] . .  
(l 4) [bha]gini mahā[senāpatisa] . .

<sup>1</sup> There are traces of another line before this See above, Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription O 3 —Ed

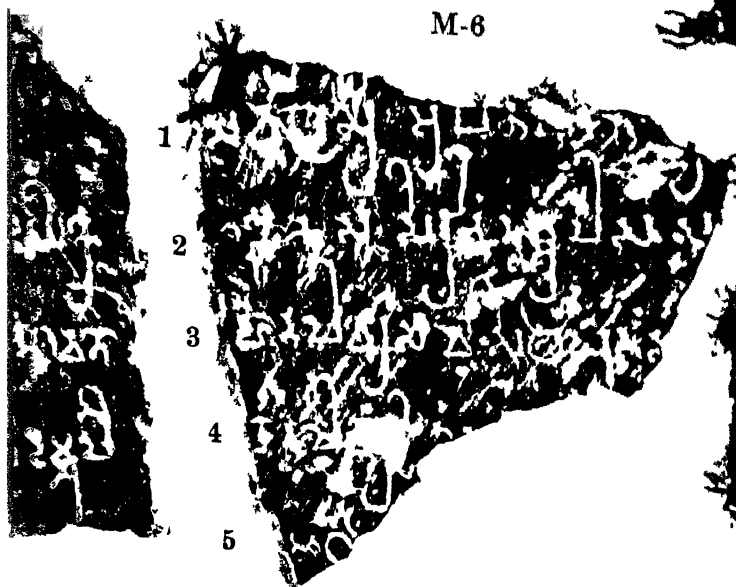


AL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (II)  
PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 1—9

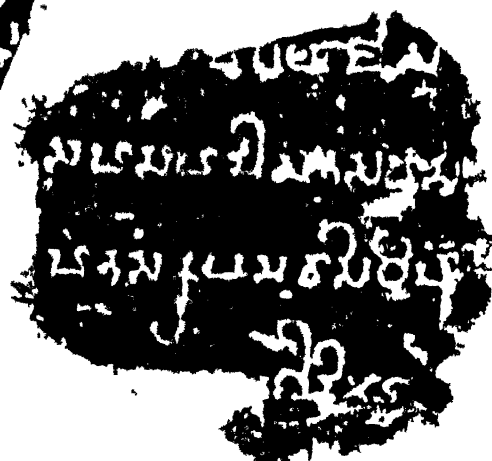
M-2



M-6



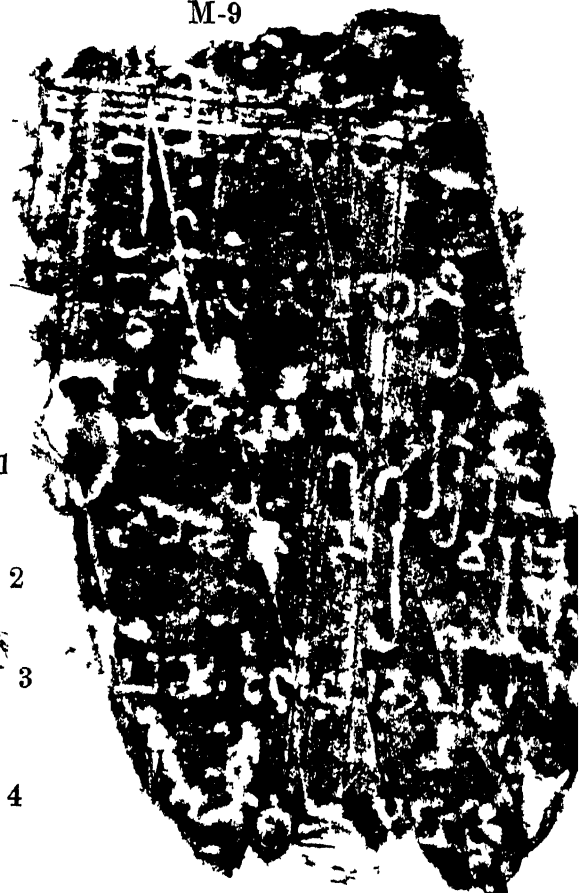
M-8



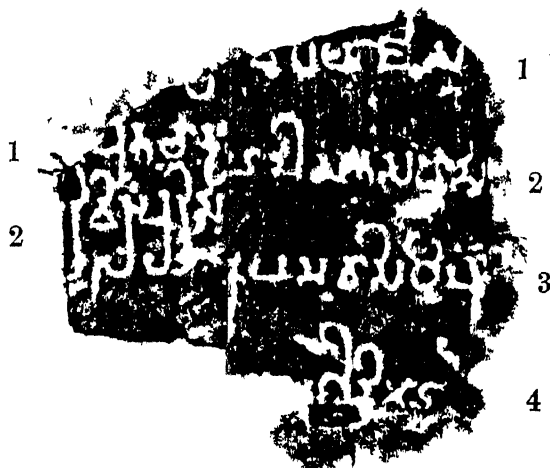
M-3



M-9



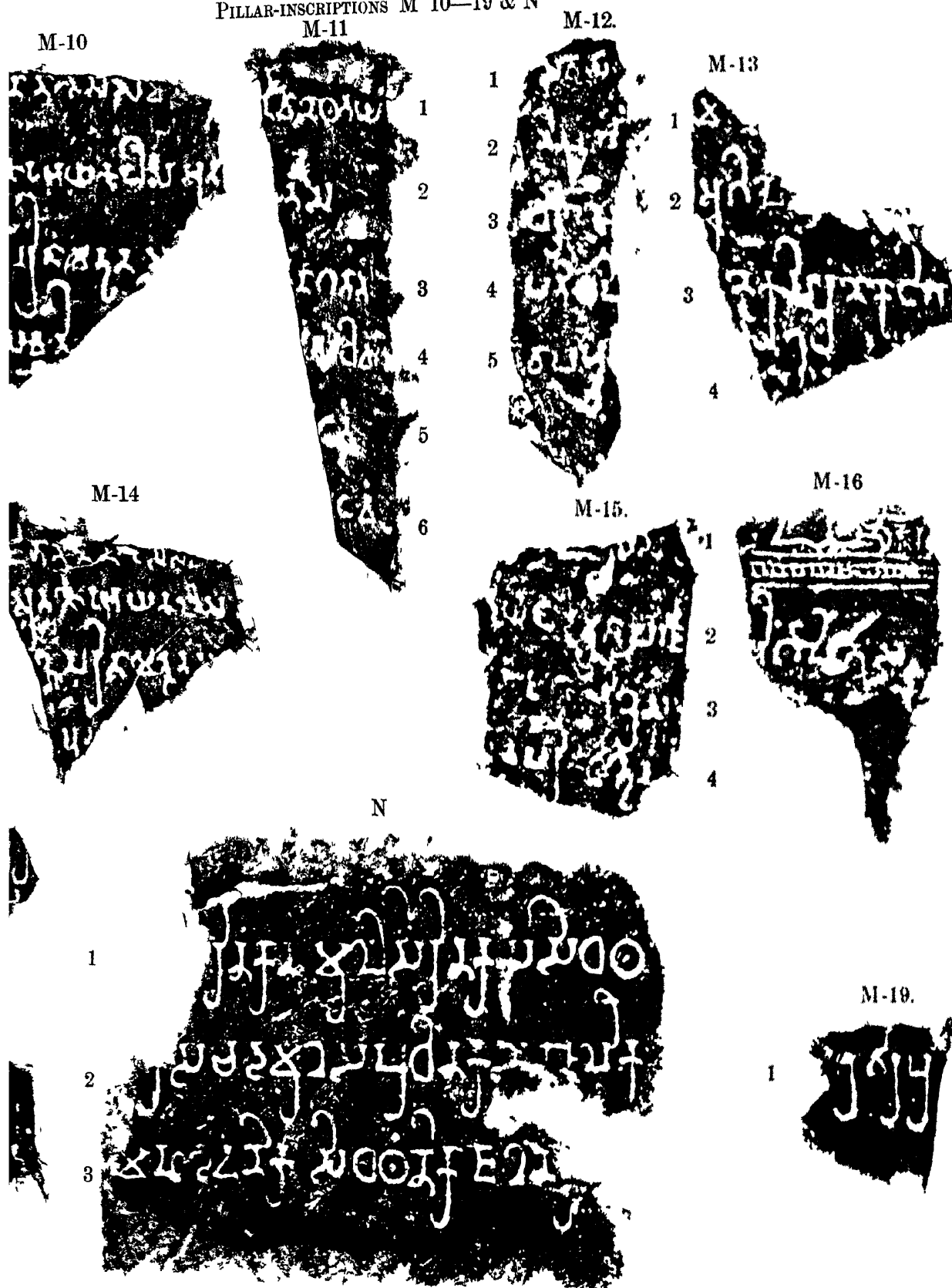
M-8





# ADDITIONAL PRAKRET INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (III)

## PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 10—19 & N





**Pillar-inscription M 9.** ✓

- (1 1) agihot-[ā]githoma-vā[japeya] .  
 (1 2) padāyisa savathesu  
 (1 3) [Vā]sithīputasa Puki[yānam]  
 (1 4) Ikhākunam Sirī-Virapu[rīsadatasa] .  
 (1 5) [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa <sup>1</sup>

**Pillar-inscription M 10.** ✓

- (1 1) na[m] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānam]  
 (1 2) api cha apāno ubhaya-kulasa at[icchita] ...  
 (1 3) nikapanike parināmetuna ma .  
 (1 4) parigahe savan[yutam] .  
 (1 5) patithapitam

**Pillar-inscription M 11**

- (1 1) nivānathanāya  
 (1 2) tasa  
 (1 3) n-āgatānam  
 (1 4) dhiva  
 (1 5) nam  
 (1 6) [mam]tavam

**Pillar-inscription M 12** ✓

- (1 1) -sa vasā-  
 (1 2) nikapa[nīke]  
 (1 3) parigahe  
 (1 4) vā pa 8

**Pillar-inscription M 13.** ✓

- (1 1) ma  
 (1 2) agiho[t-ā] .  
 (1 3) neka-hīramna kotī-go[-satasahasa] . .  
 (1 4) [-padā]yī[no] .

**Pillar-inscription M 14.** ✓

- (1 1) . [sa]vajātan[īyutam chatusāla] ....  
 (1 2) atano ubhaya-kulasa .  
 (1 3) [ke] parināmetuna .  
 (1 4) pu[ta]

**Pillar-inscription M 15.** ✓

- (1 1) [putasa]  
 (1 2) [mahācheti]ya-[pādamūle] pavajī[tānam] ..  
 (1 3) [mahābhī]khu-sam[ghasa] ....  
 (1 4) na pari[nāme]tuna

**Pillar-inscription M 16.** ✓

- (1 1) . . . [-par]igahīta

<sup>1</sup>Traces of another line are discernible below this line See line 11 of inscription C 3 above, Vol. XX,  
 p 16—Ed.

**Pillar-inscription M 17.**

- (1 1) . [Siri-Vira[purisadatasa]  
 (1 2) .. [veljayike api[cha]

**Pillar-inscription M 18.**

- (1 1) mahāsenapa[tisa]

**Pillar-inscription M 19**

- (1 1) . [Si]ri-Virapu[rīsadatasa]

**Āyaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No 9.**

The Stūpa No 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with *āyaka*-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

*Transcript*

- (1 1) rinamkānam Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sidhatha (1 2) [ka]sa Chadamukhasa  
 Pudhinakasa bāluka(ā) (1 3) Mahatuvanika Sidhaṭhamukā Jakkhana

**Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article**

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*sela-mamṭava[m]*) and 'chaitya shrine' instead of 'chaitya hall' (*chetiya ghara*).

The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage.—*Kamṭakasele mahāchetiyaṣa puva-dāre sela mamṭavo*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kamṭakasole*, but as in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kamṭakasele*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kamṭakaśailē* (cf *Puvasele* (Skt *Pūrvakaśilē*) in the same inscription).

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati<sup>1</sup> contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kamṭakasolaka*, meaning 'a resident of K'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *o* sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kamṭakasole* is correct. The form with *ṣ* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Καντακοσσύλα*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' *sa Kamṭakasela* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*<sup>2</sup>. It is of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapuri referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, line 2, in the following passage *Siriparato Vijayapuriya puva disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriya chetiya gharam sa-paṭa samthāram sa chetiyaṁ sava myulam kāntam uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was named Vijayapuri. For there can be little doubt that the *chetiya ghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

<sup>1</sup> J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 100, No. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 85, No. 30, plate LVIII.

stone slabs, but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāllabōdu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapurī was once situated

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Aparamahāvīnaseliya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvātī inscription mentions a locality *Mahāvanasala*<sup>1</sup>. The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvanasela* or *Mahāvīnasela*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley

### GLOSSARY

- agṛhot-āgṛthoma-vāṇapey-āsamedha-yāṇi* (G 2, l 2, G 3, ll 3 4, L, l 4, M 9, l 1, cf M 13 l 2)  
*achariya* (G 2, l 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l 11)  
*atichhītam-anāgata-vatamānaka* (M 2, l 4, M 3, l 1 ex conj)  
*aneka-hīramma-koti-go-satasahasā hala-satasahasā-padāyī* (G 2, ll 3-4, M 8, l 2, cf M 9, l 2 and M 13, l 3)  
*aneka-hīramma-koti-padāyī* (L, l 1, M 1, l 2)  
*Aparamahāvīnaseliya* (M 2, l 5, M 3, l 6)  
*Ayakotusiri* (L, l 9), a personal name  
*Āyasiri* (L, l 12), i.e. *Ayyasiri*=Skt *Āyāsīrī*  
*asamedha-yāṇi* (L, l 1, M 1, l 1, M 8, l 1 ex conj)  
*āyuradhamike* (M 1, l 7, M 2, l 3, M 5, l 4)  
*Ikkhāku* (G 2, ll 4 and 7, G 3, ll 6 and 8, L, l 2 ex conj, and l 6, M 1, l 6, M 5, l 3; M 6, l 2, M 9, l 4)  
*ubhaya-kula* (M 9, l 5, M 10, l 2, M 14, l 2)  
*ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivānathanāya* (M 1, l 8, M 3, l 2, cf M 5, l 5 and M 11, l 1).  
*Edhīsiri* (L, l 10), a personal name  
*Kamdasiri* (M 1, l 5, M 2, l 2 ex conj, M 5, l 1 ex conj, M 7, l 2)  
*Kusumalatā* (L, l 13), a personal name  
*Khamdakotisiri* (L, l 8)=Skt *Skandakotīsīrī*, a personal name  
*Khamdasāgaramnaka-mātā* (M 2, l 2, cf M 5, l 2)  
*Khamdasiri* (L, ll 7 and 10)  
*gṛmha-pakkha* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 13, also G, l 10)=Skt *grīshma-pakṣha* 'a fortnight of Summer'  
*Golasiri* (L, l 9), a personal name Cf *Golā* in Bharhut inscription Luders' *List*, no 836, also no 596  
*Chadamukha* (N, l 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt *Chandramukha*, a personal name  
*chātusāla-parigahita* (M 4, l 1) Cf *sa-chātusāla*, and *chātusāla* in E, l 2  
*Chāmtisiri* (M 1, l 5, M 5, l 2, M 7, l 3)  
*chhatha* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 14 ex conj), i.e. *chhatṭha* 'sixth'  
*Jakhana* (N, l 3), a personal name (?) Cf such proper names as *Yakhadāsī*, *Yakhadina*, *Yakhī* and *Yakhla* Luders' *List*, nos 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 546  
*jāmātuka* (M 1, l 6, M 5, l 2)  
*thambha* (L, l 13)=Skt *stambha* 'pillar' Cf *selathambha* in C 2, l 8  
*deyadha(m)ma* (G 2, l 6, G 3, l 10)=Skt *deyadharmā* 'a pious gift' Also in footprint slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p. 37)

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, *op cit*, p 91, No 35, plate LVIII Cf p 105, No 49, plate LX

*Devī*(?)-vihāra (G 3, ll 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'

*Nandisiri* (L, l 13), i.e. *Nandisiri* Skt *Nandīśrī*, a personal name Cf the name *Nandisiri* in Nāsik cave inscription Lüders' *List*, no 1127

*Nāgavasusiri* (?) (L, l 7), a personal name

*Nāgasiri* (L, ll 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggayyapeta inscriptions Lüders' *List*, nos 1202-4

*nānādesa-saman-āgata* (M 3, l 4, M 10, l 1 *ex conq*)

*nīkapanīka* (M 2, l 4, M 10, l 3, M 12, l 2), a word of uncertain meaning Also in E, l 2

*patrpādā* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found

*Pamdtasiri* (L, l 11)=Skt *Panditaśrī*, a personal name

*Paraṇṭasiri* (L, l 10), perhaps=Skt *Pāṇṭaśrī*, a personal name.

*parināmetuna* (M 10, l 3, M 14, l 3, M 15, l 4)

*pavaṇṭa* (M 3, l 3)

*Pudhina* (N, l 2), a personal name

*Pūkiya* (M 1, l 4, M 9, l 3)

*Bapsiri* (L, l 11), a personal name

*Bahusutriya* (G 2, l 7, G 3, ll 11-12, cf G, l 8)

*bālikā* (N, l 2) 'a daughter'

*būriya* or *būriya* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 13, also G, l 9, L, l 3)=Skt. *dvitīya* 'second'. Cf *būy* and *bīa* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

*Budhi* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol. XX, p 37), i.e. *Buddhi*, a personal name.

*bhaṇṇi* (M 1, l 3, M 8, l 4 *ex conq*) In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p 37) we have the form *bakim*.

*Bhat(i)devā* (G 2, l 6, G 3, ll 9-10).

*bharyā* (M 1, l 5, M 2, l 2) and *bhay(y)a* (G 2, l 6, G 3, l 9)=Skt. *bhāryā*

*mantava* (M 11, l 6 *ex conq*), i.e. *manṭava*=Skt. *manḍapa*.

*Maharīput(t)a* or *Māḍhariputa* (G 2, l 5, G 3, l 8; L, l 2, M 1, l 6, M 5, l 3, M 6, l. *ex conq*)

*Maduvusiri* (L, l 9), a personal name.

*Mahatuvamika* (N, l 3), a personal name

*mahāchetriya-pādamūla* (M 2, l 5 *ex conq*, M 3, l 3; M 5, l 6)

*mahātālavara* (M 1, l 4, M 6, l 3)

*mahātālavari* (M 1, l 5, M 6, l 4)

*mahādevī* (G 2, l 6, G 3, l 9, L, l 6)

*mahābhikkhu-saṃgha* (M 3, l 4)

*mahāvihāra* (M 3, l 3)

*mahāsenāpati* (M 1, l 3, M 8, l 4 *ex conq*, M 18, l 1)

*Mahisarasiri* (L, l 8)=Skt *Mahēśvaraśrī*, a personal name.

*Misasiri* (L, l 7)=Skt *Mīśraśrī*, a personal name Cf the name *Misi*, i.e. *Missi* in F, l 3.

*Mulasirivika* (N, l 1), a personal name

*Mūlasiri* (L, l 8)=Skt *Mūlaśrī*, a personal name

*Moda* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p. 37), a personal name.

*Ratunatisiri* (L, l 8), a personal name.

*Ramtusiri* (L, l 12), a personal name

*Rāmasiri* (L, l 9)=Skt *Rāmaśrī*, a personal name

- vasasanaya*<sup>1</sup> (L, l 3, M 3, l 5), a term of uncertain meaning  
*vāsa-pakṣa* (L, l 3) or *vā pa* (M 4, l 2, cf M 3, l 5, M 12, l 4) Skt *varsha-pakṣa* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'  
*Vāsūthaputa* or *Vasethaputa* (G 2, ll 4 and 7, G 3, l 6, L, l 5, M 1, l 4, M 2, l 1, M 6, l 3, M 8, l 3, M 9, l 3)  
*Vijhathavīri* (L, l 7), a personal name Cf the name *Vijha*=Skt *Vindhya*, Luders' *List*, no 579  
*Virūpa(k)kṣapati-Mahāsena-parigahita* (G 2, l 2, G 3, l 2)  
*viḥāra* (G 2, l 7)  
*vī(m)saya* (L, l 3) 'twentieth'  
*vejayṅke* (M 1, l 7, M 2, l 3, M 17, l 2) and *vijaya-vejayṅke* (M 5, l 4)  
*Saka* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep Ind*, vol XX, p 37)=Skt *Śaka* 'Scythian'  
*saḡagata* (L, l 3), i.e. *sagga-gata*=Skt *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'  
*sa-chātusāla* (M 3, l 6)  
*Satīhsiri* (L, l 10), a personal name Cf the name *Sātīla*, Luders' *List*, no 259  
*Samudāsiri* (L, l 11), i.e. *Samuddāsiri*=Skt *Samudraśrī*, a personal name  
*Samūsiri* (L, l 7), a personal name  
*Sarasikā* (L, l 13), a personal name  
*savaṇṭāmyuta* (G 2, l 6, G 3, l 11, cf M 4, l 1 and M 14, l 1)  
*savāthesu apatīhata-samkap(p)a* (G 2, l 4, G 3, ll 5-6, L, l 5, M 2, l 1 ex conq, M 6, l 1 ex conq, M 8, l 3 ex conq, cf M 9, l 2)  
*savamyuta* (M 10, l 4)  
*sa(m)vachhara* (G 2, l 8, G 3, l 13) or *samva* (M 3, l 5, M 4, l 2)  
*sahodarā* (L, l 6, M 1, l 3, M 6, l 2)  
*sāmī* (L, l 6 ex conq) Skt *svāmin* A royal title found associated also with the name of the Āndhra king *Siri-Pulumāvi* Cf *Amarāvati* inscription no 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p 100, pl LVI, no 1  
*Sidhathaka* (N, ll 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name  
*Sidhathamikā* (N, l 3), i.e. *Siddhatthamnikā*, a personal name  
*Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla* (G 2, l 8) or °*Ehuvula*- (G 3, ll 12-13)  
*Siri-Chāmāmūla* (G 2, l 5, G 3, l 7, L, ll 2, 6, M 1, l 2, M 6, l 2)  
*Siri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a* (G 2, l 5, G 3, ll 8-9, L, l 2, M 1, l 7, M 2, l 3 ex conq, M 3, l 5, M 4, l 2, M 9, l 4 ex conq, M 17, l 1, M 19, l 1 ex conq)  
*Sivānāgasiri* (L, ll 11 and 12), a personal name  
*Sunūtisiri* (L, l 6), a personal name  
*sunhā* (G 2, l 5, G 3, l 7, cf F, l 3 and G, l 5)=Skt *snushā* 'a daughter-in-law'  
*subhatarikā* (L, l 12), a word of uncertain meaning  
*hīramna-koti-go-satasahasā-hala-satasahasā-padāy* (G 3, ll 4-5, L, ll 4-5)

## POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two *akṣaras* respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near *Stūpa* No 9 A third inscription, evidently a single word of four *akṣaras*, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning

<sup>1</sup> Can it be *vasasatāza*?—Ed

## No 12 —THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

Some sixteen years ago the archæological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhist, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well known formula

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषा तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।  
तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एव वादो महाश्रमणः ॥

which, we are told, Āśvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted<sup>1</sup> as

‘Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata,

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramana has revealed’

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A D), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bōdhisattvas, Maitrēya and Avalōkitēśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhist Congregations or *Sanghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend.—

श्रीनालन्दासंघविहारोयार्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य,

meaning

‘Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of śrī-Nālandā’ The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the ‘Preaching of the Law’ (धर्मचक्रप्रवर्त्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the “Deer Park” where the Buddha first turned the ‘*Dharmachakra*’ (= Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sarnāth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *bhikṣus* were engaged in expounding or preaching the ‘Law’. To form an idea of what this device is,

<sup>1</sup> Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p 25

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal* <sup>1</sup> That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain

The other group, *i e*, the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr Spooner,<sup>2</sup> Mr Dikshit,<sup>3</sup> and the late Mr R D Banerji.<sup>4</sup> I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyōtisha.<sup>5</sup> At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of Śārvavarman Maukharī and of Harsha of Thānēsar which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates The original of the Asīrgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sonpat seal, as represented by the facsimile<sup>6</sup> given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents

#### The seals of King Śārvavarman Maukharī

One of the two seals of Śārvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Asīrgadh seal The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this For instance, if we compare the symbols for *kha* in the word *Maukharīh*, occurring in the last line of the Asīrgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *la* in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the Asīrgadh specimen There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Asīrgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below The device is quite distinct in all these specimens It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1 Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chowrie* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear The bull usually stands for *dharma*, *वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः*<sup>8</sup> The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāndālas*, who want to kill the

<sup>1</sup> Vol XVII, plate facing p 321 *A S R*, 1922 23, plate XV(d).

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Arch Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-17 p 43

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, for 1917 18, pp 446 ff

<sup>4</sup> *Journ B O R Soc*, Vol V (1919), pp 302 ff

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, Vol V (1919), p 303

<sup>6</sup> *C I I*, Vol III, plate xxxi B

<sup>7</sup> Cf Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, p 219

<sup>8</sup> *Manusmṛiti* (VIII. 16)

animal The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below, the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot-notes

#### TEXT

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkṛanta-kirttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā(ō)<sup>1</sup> varṇa-āsrama-vyavasthā-
- 2 pana-pravṛtta-chakkras=Chakkradhara iva prajānām-arttiḥara[ḥ\*]<sup>2</sup> śrī<sup>3</sup>-Mahārāja-Hara-varmmā[||\*] Tasya
- 3 puttras<sup>4</sup>=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Jayasvāmīnī-bhattārikā-dēvyām<sup>5</sup>=utpannah śrī-Mahārāj-Ādityava-
- 4 rmmā[||\*] Tasya<sup>6</sup> puttras=tat-p[ā<sup>7</sup>]d-ānuddhyātō Harshaguptā-bhattārikā-dēvyām-utpannah śrī-Mahārā<sup>8</sup>
- 5 j-Ēsavaravarmma<sup>9</sup> [||\*] Tasya puttras tat-pād-ānuddhyātā Upaguptā<sup>10</sup>-bhattārikā-dēvyām=utpannō
- 6 Maha(ā)<sup>11</sup>rājādhirāja-śrī-<sup>12</sup> Isānavarmma<sup>13</sup> [||\*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō, Lakshmiva-<sup>14</sup>
- 7 ā-bhattārikā-Mahādēvyām<sup>15</sup>=utpannah=paramamāhēśvarō<sup>16</sup> Ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvvavarmma<sup>17</sup> Maukharīh [||\*]

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Isānavarmma is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago <sup>18</sup>

#### The seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Harsha of Thānēsar. The Sonpat seal which Fleet reproduced<sup>17</sup> in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Harsha

1. The Sonpat seal, both these specimens, gave 'rājā' for 'rājā'.
2. The symbol is left out in these seals also.
3. I think it is 'śrī' in all the three documents. Of the symbol in line 8
4. The letters *puttra* and the *t* of *sta* are lost in A1.
5. It is clearly *dēvyām* in both these seals.
6. Letters *rmmā* *Tasya* are missing in A1.
7. The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.
8. Both these seals give 'Maha'.
9. The *akṣaras* 'Ēsavarā' are missing in A1.
10. In both these seals, too, the symbol after *ā* is more like *ma* than *pa*; cf. Fleet, *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 226.
11. The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters *māhā(ā)rā* are lost in A1.
12. Both these seals give 'śrī' of the symbol in line 8. The hiatus in *śrī Isāna* is intentional, evidently.
13. The 'La' symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading *Lakshmiva* is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.
14. A distinctly gives *Mahā* though the length mark is not so clear in A1.
15. 'O' mark is clear in both.
16. Vol. XIV, pp. 110-11.
17. *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 231 f. and plate XXXII-B.



2

4

6

8



A-I



2

4

6

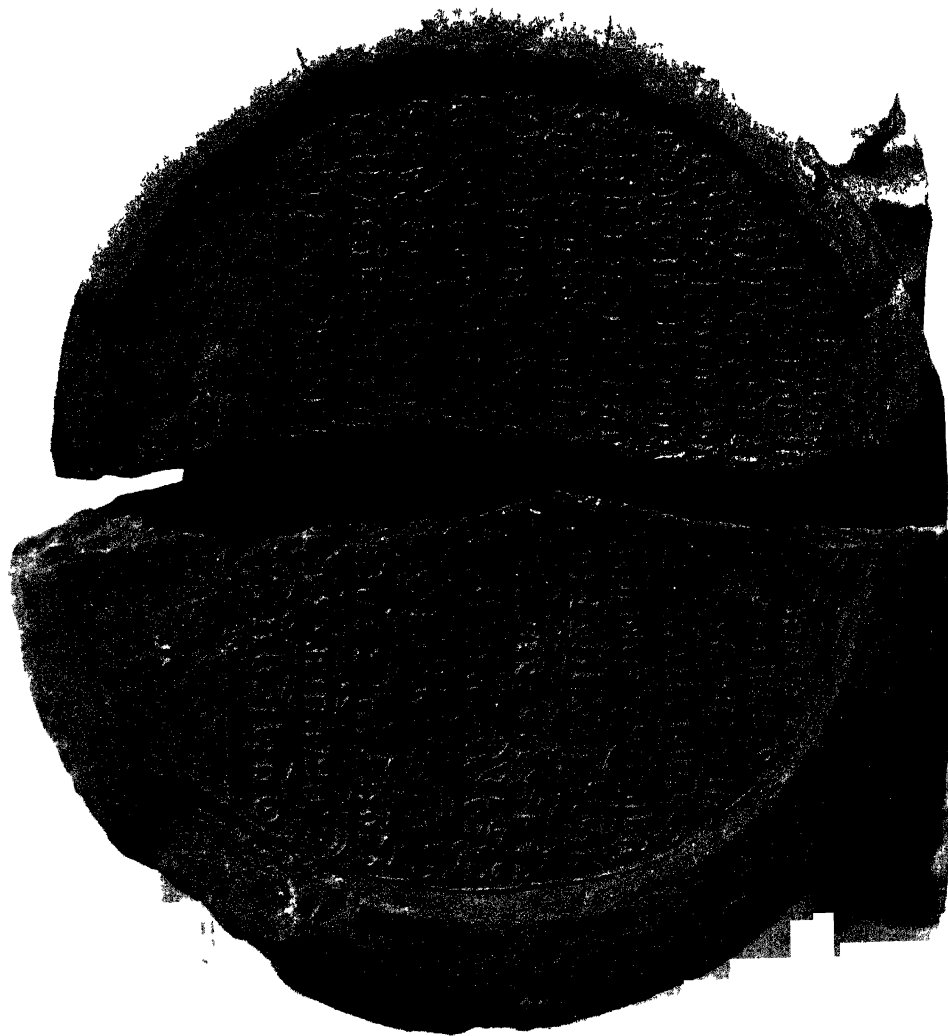
8





# THE CLAY SEALS OF NAIAANDA (II)

B



C



2

4

6

8

10

12

SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

HIRANANDA SASTRI

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $5\frac{1}{10}$ ", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *akṣaras* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Sarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban<sup>1</sup> and the Banskhera<sup>2</sup> copper-plates of this potentate.

## TEXT

- 1 Symbol<sup>3</sup> [[[\*] Mahārāja-śrī-Nara[varddhanas=ta]<sup>4</sup>[sya] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhvāta[h\*]  
śrī-Vajrinī-
- 2 devyām=utpannah paramādityabhaktō Mah]<sup>4</sup>ārāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah[[[\*]Tasya  
puttras=tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātah śrī-Apsarōdēvyām<sup>5</sup>=utpanna[h para]<sup>4</sup>inādityabhaktō Mahārāja-śrīmad-  
Āditya-
- 4 varddhanah[[[\*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah<sup>6</sup> śrī-[Ma]<sup>4</sup>[hā]sēnaguptādēvyām=  
u[tpa\*]-nnah chatuhsamu-
- 5 dr-ātikkṛānta-kīr[ttih] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]<sup>4</sup>-rājō varṇāśrama<sup>7</sup>-vyavasthāpana-  
pravṛtta-
- 6 chakkra cāchakkraratha iva prajānām=arttiha[rah]<sup>4</sup> paramādityabhakta[h] parama-  
bhattāraka-
- 7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhana[h][[\*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah<sup>8</sup>  
atīśayita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām=amala-yaśōmatyām [śrī]-Yaśōmatyām=utpanna[h] parama-  
saugataḥ Suga-

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol I, pp 72 f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol IV, pp 210 11

<sup>3</sup> *Om* or *siddhih*

<sup>4</sup> Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banskhera copper plate inscriptions

<sup>5</sup> Fleet gives *Ma(p)hā(p)devyām* instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdēvī

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end

<sup>7</sup> Fleet gives *uv[ra] varṇa* in his reading of the Sonpat seal

<sup>8</sup> The Madhuban and the Banskhera records show *sandhi* here—*ātīśa*<sup>9</sup>

- 9 [ta i]va parahit-ānuratah paramabhata[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhana-  
[h][\*] ta-  
10 sy-ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabha[ttā]rikā-Mahādēvi-śrī-Yasōma[tyām] dē-  
11 vyām=[ēv<sup>1</sup>-ō]tpannah paramamā[hē]śvarah Mahēśvara iva sarvva-sa  
12 tv ānukampaka[h\*] paramabhata[raka]-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-śrī-Harshah[|\*]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banskhera plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *akṣaras vardhanah* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

- 1 Nagara-bhuktau kumār āmāty-ādhi-
- 2 karanasya [|\*]

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakṣmī, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of śrī-Paśu-patīsimha, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palaeographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows —

- 1 Vṛit-ārātī-ganasya nyāyavatō rāja-
- 2 vṛitti-nipunasya sva-gun-ābharanasya
- 3 śrī-Paśupatīsimhasya la[kshm=edam] [|\*]

This may be rendered as —

‘The token of the illustrious Paśupatīsimha, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (*performing*) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (*his*) foes.’ The use of the word *lakṣma*, meaning ‘token’, is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

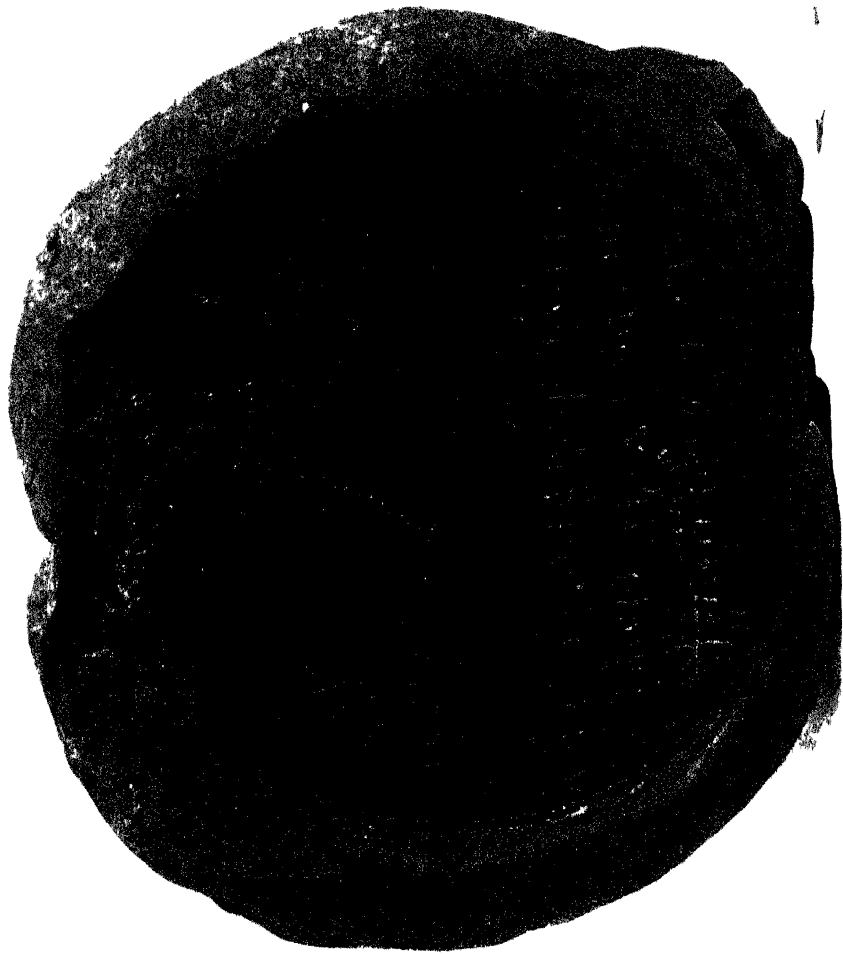
Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word ‘*janapada*’. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *ghata* or *mangalakalāṣa*, the right, a rosary or *akṣamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading —

- 1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
- 2 napadasya [|\*]

<sup>1</sup> *Ēva* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were *uterine* brothers

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III)

D



E



F







and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body** In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of **Pādapāk** (or °g) and the legend which it bears reads —

**Pādapāk-grāmasya** [||\*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lēkha-hāra* or courier from Kūṣhna, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāna gives in the *Harshacharitam* —

अथ तेनानीयमानम्, . अतिनिविडसूत्रबन्धनिम्नितान्तरालकृत-  
व्यवच्छेदया लेखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, . . प्रविशन्तं लेखहारक-  
मद्राक्षोत्

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it, ' Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of Paśupatisimha, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token The string might have been of hemp or of cotton In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*khādi*' cloth In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc, were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan* and *Serindia* These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged This is done even nowadays In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lēkha-hāraka* was like the *harkārah* of to-day

#### POSTSCRIPT

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings **Narasimhagupta**, his son **Kumāragupta**, **Budhagupta** and **Vanyagupta**, and also the kings [Bha]gavachchandra, **Supratishthita-varman**, and others The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of **Kumāragupta's mother** has to be read as **Mitrādēvi** and not Śrīmatīdēvi or Lakshmidēvi, and that of **Puragupta's mother**, as **Vanyādēvi** not Vatsadēvi All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā

## No 13 —BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128

BY RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M A, DACCA

This **copper-plate** was discovered in 1930 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hili while excavating a tank at Baigram (P O Hili) in the District of Bogra, Rājshahi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Ponita Khandar till it was brought to Hili early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gauda Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (*i.e.*, ancient Pundravardhana-*bhukti*). Out of these eight documents seven have already been published, *viz.*, the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I the year 113,<sup>1</sup> the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and the Pāhārpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.<sup>3</sup> The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *khila* (fallow) and *vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants<sup>4</sup>, marked A, B and C by Pargiter, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9"×5", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it, the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protuberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and lost. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A D and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Pāhārpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ā* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *akshara* as, for example, in *grāmika* (l 2). The form of *rū* in *rūpakān* (ll 6 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *k* is distinguished from *v* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmaṇa* l. 2 or *bōdhayantra* l 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *hm* and *hy* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *ñchchky* occurring in the word *apamñchchkye* (l. 19) may be noted. The form of the medial *ē* and *ō* in the letters *m*, *t* and *r* requires attention (see, e.g., *mākam* in l. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp 345 ff<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp 59 ff.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp 113 ff.<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193 ff.

*mōdati* in l 23 and *pachyatē* in l 22) This form of *ē* is to be found with the letter *s* also, as, for example, in *vasūt* (l 23) The sign for the lingual *l* is used in *nalābhyām* (ll 18-19) The form of the final *t* and *m*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example in *vasūt* (l 23), *vasundharām* (l 22), is also noteworthy The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25 As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *kāri[ta]ka* and *ṛittika* (l 4) *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places, as in *°nayā avadhṛta* (l 10) and *°cha akshaya* in line 17

As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities require attention (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *y*, as in *°dīnāyikkya* (l 6) (but in the same word in line 12 *k* seems to be single) and *pādāmuddhyātah*, (l 1) (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *i*, e.g., *ikkhiyō* (ll 6 and 12) and *kshittā* (ll 5 and 11) (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *u* and *r* are doubled after the superscript *i*, e.g., *°chandrāikka* (ll 5 and 11), *svarggē* (l 23), *vanṭa mūra* (l 20), *nānttha* (l 12), *chaturddisu* (l 19), *samīyavahāryya* (l 20) and *pūrvva* (l 23) respectively

The inscription is **dated** in *Samvat 128 on the nineteenth of Māgha* This *samvat* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz, 128 of the Gupta era The use of the Gupta *samvat* was current in North Bengal during this period The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur plate Evidently the words *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz, Kumāragupta I

The **object** of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *kulyavāpas* of revenue-free *khalā* (fallow) fields and two *drōnas* of *sthata-vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyigrāma, viz, Trivritā and Śrīgōhālī, by two persons named Bhōyila and Bhāskara for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc, required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindasvāmī which was founded by their father Śivanandin The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Pañchanagarī, possibly the district (*vrshaya*) headquarters The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*vrshay-ādhyakṛana*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named **Kulavṛiddhi** and had the title of *Kumārāmātya* The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (*pustapālas*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *nalas* in use there The members of the *vrshay-ādhyakṛana*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *vrshaya* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 2 *dināras* per *kulyavāpa* which was in vogue in that *vrshaya* These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *akshaya-nivā*

It is not unlikely that like the Kōtivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and the Khādā(vā)pārā of the Dhanaidaha plate, the Pañchanagarī of the inscription under publication was one of the *vrshayas* of the old Pundravardhana-*bhukti*, but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivritā and Śrīgōhālī I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyigrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōtivarsha and Pañchanagarī. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hili in Bogra. The name Śrīgōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vata-Gōhālī and Nīva-Gōhālī of the Pāhārpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *dīnāra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *dīnāra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōnavāpas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to  $\frac{1}{2}$  *dīnāra* because 1 *kulyavāpa* (=8 *drōnas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *dīnāras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *dīnāra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, *i.e.*, *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, *e.g.*, *panas*) and *tāmra-rūpa* (copper coin, *e.g.*, *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darsaka* in that work.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the different rate of price of *khala* and *vāstu* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*tridīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur one, we have the rate of two *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*dvīdīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*), whereas in almost all the Farīdpur plates the rate is that of four *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*chaturdīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāhārpur inscription it has become clear that one *kulyavāpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōnavāpas*, for there 12 *drōnas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyavāpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyavāpa* being equal to 8 *drōnas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, *viz.*, that the *viśhayapati*s, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *viśhay-ādhyakṣanas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *uparika-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulavṛddhi, the *viśhayapati*, is here described as directly mediating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhattāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *viśhaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman of Kōtivarsha appointed to his responsible post by *uparika* Chitrādatta, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramādevata*, *paramabhaktiāraka Mahārājādīvarāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulavṛddhi and Vētravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *viśhayas* in North Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Shamasastri's Translation, p. 95. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jyasswal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapatis* of Kōtivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhyakṣa*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *nayaka śrēṣṭhin* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathama sāthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-lāyastha* (probably, the chief scribe — the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G E (Damodarpur grant No 2 of Kumārī-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Pundriavardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōtivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhyakṣa* than in Pañchanagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (*i e*, Nos 1 and 2).

## TEXT

## First Side

- 1 Svasti ||[\*] **Pañchanagaryyā** Bhattāraka-pād īnuddhātāh Kumārāmātṛa-Kula-  
vṛddhir-ētaḍ-vishay-ādhyakṣanañ-cha
- 2 **Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōh** Brāhman ōttarān=samvyavahārī-pramukhān=  
grāma-kutumbīnāh kuśalam-anu-
- 3 vanya bōdhayanti(tu) ||[\*] Viñhāpayatōra(tō)=tī=aiya-vāstavya-kutumbi-**Bhōyila-**  
**Bhāskarāv=**āyavōh pitrā Śivanandi-
- 4 nā kārī[ta]ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmīnāh dēvakulas(am)=tad=asāv=alpa(tad=  
adō lpa) vṛittikālī(am) ||[\*] Iha vishayē samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrānām=akūñchit=pratīkarānām śāsavad=āchandr-ārka-  
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nān) akshaya-nīvyā
- 6 dvī-dīnārikkyā-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=arhath = āvayōs = sakāśāt=shad=dīnārān=  
ashta cha rūpakān-āyī-
- 7 [kṛ]tya Bhagavatō Gōvindasvāmīnō dēvakulē [kha]nda phutta<sup>1</sup>-pratīsamśka(skā)ra-  
karaṇāya gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-
- 8 sumanasā[m\*] pravarttanāya cha Trivṛitāyām Bhōgi(yi)lasya khila-kshētra-  
kulyavāpa-trayam **Śrīgōhālyās(ñ)=ch=āpī**
- 9 tala-vātak-ūrtha[m\*] sthala-vāstunō dīṇavāpam=ekam **Bhāskarasy=āpī** sthala-  
vāstunō drōnavāpañ=cha dātu-
- 10 m=ī[tu] ||[\*] Yatō yushmān=bōdhayāna[h\*] Pustapāla-Durgādatt-Ārkkadāsayōr=  
avadhāraṇayā<sup>2</sup> avadhṛita-
- 11 m=ast-īha vishayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrānā[m\*] śāsavad=  
achandr-ārka-tāraka-bhōjyānām dvī dī-
- 12 nāriky-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittah ||[\*] Ēvamvidh-āpratīkara-khila-kshētra-  
vikkrayē cha na kaśchid=rāj ārttha-
- 13 virōdha upachaya ēva Bhattāraka-pādānāh dharmma-phala-shad-bhāg-āvāptiś=  
cha tad=dīyatām=itī ētayōh

<sup>1</sup> Read *spṛuṣṭa* *Phuṣṭa* is evidently a Prākṛit form<sup>2</sup> Read *ay=avadhṛita*



- 14 Bhōyila-Bhāskarayōs=sakā[śā\*]t=shad=dīnārān=ashta cha rūpakān=āyikṛitya Bha-  
gavatō Gōvindasvāmīnō  
15 dēvakulasy=ārtthē Bhōyilasya Trivritāyām khūla-kshēttara-kulyavāpa-trayam  
tala-vātak-ādy-arttham

## Second Side

- 16 Śrīgōhālā[m\*] sthala-vāstunō drōnavāpam Bhāskarasy=āpy=atr=aiva sthalē(la)-  
va(vā)stunō drōnavāpa-  
17 m=ēva[m\*] kulyavāpa-trayam sthala-drōnavāpa-dvayañ=cha<sup>1</sup> akshaya-nīvyās(vyā)  
tāmra-pattēna dattan nūna<sup>2</sup>  
18 ku 3 sthala-drō 2 tē<sup>3</sup> yūyam sva-karshan-āvirōdhi-sthānē<sup>4</sup> Darvīkarmma-  
hastēn=āshtaka-navaka-nalābhyā-  
19 m=apaviñchchhya chira-kāla-sthāyī-tush-āngār-ādī(dī)nā[m\*] chūhnaiś=chāturdīsō  
niyamyā dāsyath=ākshaya-  
20 nīvi-dharmmēna(na) cha śāśvat=kālam=anupālayishyatha varttamāna-bhaviśhyais=  
cha samvyavahāryy-ādibhur=ēta-  
21 d=dharmm-āpēkshay=ānupālayitavyam=iti [\*] Uktañ=cha Bhagava[d]-Vēdavyāsa  
mahātmanā [\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām  
22 vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām [\*] sa viśthāyām kṛimīr=bhūtīvā  
pitribhis=saha pachyatē [||\*] Shashtim varsha-saha-  
23 srānī svarggē mōdatī bhūmidah [\*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantī cha tāny=  
ēva narakē vasēt [||\*] Pūrvva-  
24 dattām dvijātībhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishtura [\*] mahī[m\*] mahūnatām  
śrēshtha dānāch=chhrēvō=nupāla-  
25 namitī(m || 1)ti sam 100 20 8 Māgha dī 10 9

## TRANSLATION

[Ll 1—3] Bhss ! From Pañchanagari<sup>5</sup> Kumārāmātya Kulavṛiddhi, who meditates on the feet of the Bhattāraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the *adhikarāṇa* (court) of the *viśhaya* and the village-householders, along with the Brāhmanas and others and the Chief-officers (*Samvyavahārins*) of (the two localities named) Trivritā and Śrīgōhālī connected with the village named Vāyigrāma

[Ll 3—6] Bhōyila and Bhāskara, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply,—‘The (building) of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmī founded by Śivanandin, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this *viśhaya* prevails (the procedure) of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (to the State), (the lands being purchased) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

<sup>1</sup> Read *ch=aksha*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable [ *Phuṭṭa* (=Skt *sphutita*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt *mūna* meaning low land — Ed ]

<sup>3</sup> The Pāharpur plate gives *tad* (l 19) which is a much better reading — Ed

<sup>4</sup> [ This must be the reading in the Pāharpur plate also, where in the place of *svakarmanā*<sup>o</sup> (l 19) it would be better to read *svakarshana*<sup>o</sup> as in this plate ]

<sup>5</sup> This word seems to be the name of the *viśhaya* in charge of Kulavṛiddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (*adhikarāṇa*) of the *viśhaya* was situated

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from (the liability of payment of) any kind of taxes

[Ll 6—10] So design to make a grant to (me), **Bhōyila**, of three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (i e, waste) land in **Trivritā** and one *drōnavāpa* of *vāstu* (i e, homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (*tala*) and paths (*vātaka*) in **Śrīgōhālī**, and to (me), **Bhāskara**, one *drōnavāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins

[Ll 10—13] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgāditta and Arkkadīsa (thus),—there exists in this *śhaya* (the procedure of) sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (to the king), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khila* fields, free from taxes (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the *Bhattārika-pāda* (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (accruing from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale)

[Ll 13—18] Thus on making an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins (*rūpakas*) from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* fields in **Trivritā** and one *drōnavāpa* of *vāstu* land in **Śrīgōhālī** were granted (by sale) to **Bhōyila** and one *drōnavāpa* of *vāstu* land in the very same place (i e, Śrīgōhālī) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate (*charter*) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshaya-nivē*), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three *kulyavāpas* and two *śhala drōnavāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *śhaladrō* 2, respectively)

[Ll 18—21] (So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having defined (the area) by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands of *Daruvikarmma*, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit

[Ll 21—25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas)

[Ll 25] (Here the charter) ends. **The year (sam) 128, the 19th day of Māgha**

## NO 14 MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN

BY D R BHANDARKAR

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Bala Faqī of the Mahāsthāngarh village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr G C Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Banga-bāṇī*, though I have not seen it at all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Dava Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures  $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{7}{8}''$ . Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *etam* is the last word of l 2, *dhāṇyam* is the first word of l 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

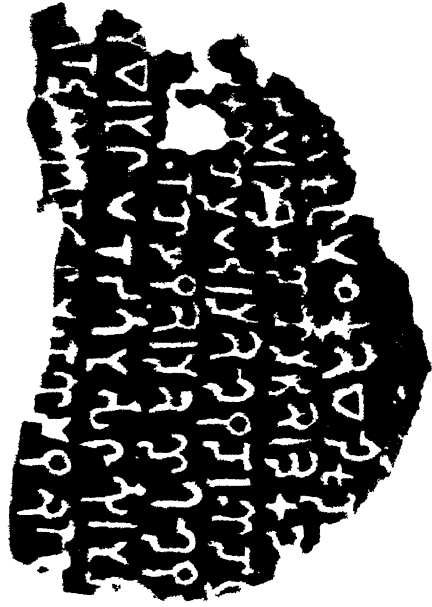
The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters *t*, *p*, *h*, *v* and *s* is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kālsī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *śh*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely *s* and *śh*, is quite certain. The word *samagryānam* occurs twice, once in l 1 and once in l 3, and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s* it has the form of *śh* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *samagryānam* being the word intended. The *śh*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *śh*. Similarly in regard to *śulakhate* (l 2) and *su-atyāyālasī* (l 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *su*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *s*, the latter looks like *śh*. This *śh*-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kālsī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *śh* like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *śh*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhyadēsa influenced by Māgadhi or rather the court language of Magadha. Here we have to notice the change of *i* to *l* and of the ending *o* to *e*. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhi. We have, on the other hand, the dental *s* only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal *ś* which is the third characteristic of Māgadhi according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in *si*, and never in *e*. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a *virāma* or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright *virāmas* may be found in the Kālsī and Sahasrām Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kālsī Rock Edict XIII has the following *Aitha- [ra] śhā* |



# MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAILASTHAN

From an estampage



2  
4  
6

From a photograph



1  
3  
5  
7

ACTUAL SIZE

SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE

*bhaskita-* | *śha* [*De*] *anampiyasha Piyadashine* | *lāṇe* | (Hultsch, *C I I*, Vol I, p 45) In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences

The transcript of our record is as follows —

- 1 *nena* *Sa*[*m*\*]*va*[*m*\*]*gīy*[*ā*]*nam* | *Galadanasa* | *Dumadina*-[*mahā*\*]
- 2 *māte* | *sulakhite* *Pudanagalate* | *e*[*ta*]*m*
- 3 [*m*\*]*va**hupiyasati* | *Samva*[*m*\*]*gīyānam* [*cha* *dī*\*]*ne* [*tathā*\*]
- 4 [*dhā*\*]*myam* | *nivahisati* | [*la*[*m*\*]*g*[*ā*\*]*tivā*] [*i*\*]*k*[*e*] *d*[*evā*\*]-
- 5 [*tiv* *ī*\*] [*y*]*ika**sī* | *su*-*ativ* *īyika*[*sī*] *pi* | *gamda*[*kehi*\*]
- 6 [*dh* *ī**m*\*] [*v*]*ikehi* *sa* *kothīgāle* *kosam* [*bhara*\*]-
- 7 [*nīve*]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *nena*. The word originally must have been either *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l 1, at the most one letter could have preceded *nena* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*āsa*\*]*nena* *Sa*[*m*\*]*va*[*m*\*]*gīy*[*ā*]*nam* [*Galadanasa*] punctuated by the *vrāma* of l 1 make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *sāsana* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Samagīyānam*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l 3 as *Samvagīyānam*, where the *anusāra* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Samvagīyānām*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vargīyānām*, 'of the class-fellows, or the clansmen', with *sam* prefixed to it. But this prefix *sam* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *sāsana* to 'Galadana of the clansmen'? Who were these clansmen? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another *anusāra* this time after *va*, and read the whole word as *Samvamgīyānam*, 'of the Samvamgīva (tribe)'. The insertion of an *anusvāra* after *va* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l 2 we have *Pudanagalate*, which obviously stands for *Pumḍanagalate*. That *Vamgīva* is, like the *Vajjis*, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different *Vajjī* clans is sometimes called *Samvājji*, it is not impossible that the various *Vamgīva* clans were similarly summed up under the name *Samvamgīya*. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Samvamgīyānām* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anusvāra* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanasa* (*Sk*) *Galārdanasya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Samvamgīvas*, to whom something was granted by *sāsana*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word which is marked by a *vrāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *vrāma* may be read either as *Dumadina*[*sa*] (*a*)*māte* or *Dumadina mahāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadinase*=*Dumadinese*=*Drumadrñēsah*. Thirdly, *amāte* cannot here be equivalent to *amātyō* which in this inscription would run into *amātye*. All things considered it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina-mahāmāte* the Mahāmātra (called) Dumadina.”

The next letters of the second line placed between two *virāmas* can be read without doubt as *sulakhite Pu[m]danagalate*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[m]danagalate* standing for the Sanskrit *Pundranagaratah*, “from Pundranagara.” The change of the Sanskrit *tō*(=*tah*) into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Ujenite* and *Takhasilāte* of Dhauli Separate Rock Edict I (Sections AA and BB in ll 23-4 of Hultzsch’s *Asoka Inscriptions*). But what does *sulakhite* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *tō*(=*tah*). But what about *sulakhī*? Does it stand for *sulakshī(n)*, or for *sulakshmī(la)*? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *virāmas* contains the two words *e[ta]m [ni]vāhīṣaṭi*=*etam nīvāhīṣhyati*, will cause it to be accomplished.” The word *etam* here in all likelihood refers to the *śāsana* or grant which must have been specified in the first original line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is *Samva[m\*]gyānam*. The letter following is either *v* or *ch*. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably *ne*. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is *dhānyam*, which occurs in l 4. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least, as remarked above. *Dhānyam* may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to *dhānyam*=‘paddy’. The whole clause may perhaps be restored to *Samva[m\*]gyānam [cha] [dī\*]ne [tathā\*] dhānyam*, ‘and likewise paddy has been granted to the Samvāmgiyas.’

The letters intervening between the next two *virāmas* read *nīvāhīṣaṭi*, which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *virāmas*. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well-nigh all ingenuity at restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *dagatīyāy[i]ke*. The other word also ends with *tyāyṛkaṣi* of which *yṛkaṣi* is to be found in the next line, i e, l 5. *Yṛkaṣi* must have been preceded by *yā* in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining *ti* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ti* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *d* and comes immediately after the word *dagatīyāy[i]ke*, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two uprights of *d* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *d* in *Pu[m\*]danagalate* in l 2, or in *gamda[ka\*]* in l 5. Possibly, what looks like *d* is the preserved portion of *d*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *d[evātyāy]ṛkaṣi*. The whole may thus read *nīvāhīṣaṭi da[m\*]g[ā\*]tyāy[i\*]h[e] d[evātyāy\*]ṛkaṣi* (*nīvāhīṣhyatē dramgātīyāyṛkam dāvatīyāyṛkē*), and may be translated as follows: “the excess (*atīyāyṛka*) (of adversity) to the town (*dānga*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency will be tided over.” It seems that there is a reference here to a *dāva-ātīyāyṛka*, that is, to a transgression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this *āyāyṛka* had overtaken the *dānga* of the Samvāmgiyas. This *dānga* may be Pundranagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Samvāmgiyas were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānyā* or paddy. This shows that the *dāva-ātīyāyṛka* that had befallen the Samvāmgiyas must have been no other than a famine.

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-atvāyāṅkaṣi pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gamḍa* has been preserved in l. 5. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as *[y]iḥeṇi esa kothāgāle losam*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows *gamḍa[ḥeṇi\*] [dhāni\*]yīḥeṇi esa kothāgāle losam [bharanīye\*]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gamḍakas*". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *kothāgāle*=*koshthāgāraṇ*=granary, and (2) *losa*=*koṣa*=treasury. Corresponding to *losa* we have the mention of *gamḍaka*, which means 'a coin of the value of four cowries'. The *yīḥeṇi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to *[dhāni\*]yīḥeṇi*=*dhānyakāṇi*, as it corresponds to *kothāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the Samvāṅgīyas. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gamḍaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

ll. 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gamḍaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gamḍaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the Samvāṅgīyas, which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *sāsana* granted to Galadana (Galārdana) of the Samvāṅgīyas, who is mentioned in l. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *sāsana* referred to the *gamḍaka* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the Samvāṅgīyas and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows. It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Pundranagara with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called Samvāṅgīyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gamḍaka* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the Samvāṅgīyas. The Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the Samvāṅgīyas will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows —

• To Galadana (Galārdana) of the Samvāṅgīyas (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Pundranagara will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the Samvāṅgīyas. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outburst of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and the *gamḍaka* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed



from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *esa koṭhāgāle* occur in the last line. The word *esa* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription stone, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Pundravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhasu Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Po-ship-po* monastery, which was situated just twenty *li* or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-ja-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Pundravardhana but is intended for Pundravardhana.<sup>1</sup> "This city" says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 600 *li* or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmaḥal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmaḥal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".<sup>2</sup> The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karatōgā mahātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. This *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karatōgā mahātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Pundra or Paundravardhana kṣetra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Pundravardhana. Now Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varanasi Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvaṇanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Līlā sarvasva* on the *Amarakōśha* and two in the *Smṛitichandrikā* by Dīvanabhaṭṭa who is himself quoted by Hēmadri (12th century).<sup>3</sup> This shows that the *Karatōgā mahātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Pundravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *esa koṭhāgāle*. As the *koṭhāgāle* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Samivariṅgivas was the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Pundranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D., to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kautilya says in his *Arthasāstra* "durbhikṣhē rājā bīja bhakt opagraham kṛte ānugraham kuryāt. Durga-sētu-karma vā bhakt-ānugrahēṇa, bhakta-samvibhāgam iā," "During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakta*). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work)." It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

<sup>1</sup> Watter's *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol II, pp 184-5

<sup>2</sup> *A S I R*, Vol XV, p 110

<sup>3</sup> *Varanasi Res Soc's Monograph*, No 2, p 25

<sup>4</sup> IV, 3, 78.

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratis* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the Samvamiyas was not *annam* or boiled rice, but rather *dhānyam* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the Samvamiyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān or Pundranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karatōyā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gamdaka* coins among the Samvamiyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohgaura about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur. This was first edited by Buhler in the *Vienna Ori Jour*, Vol X, pp 138 ff and *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, pp 261 ff, afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS*, 1907, pp 510 ff, and lastly by Prof B M Barua in *Ann Bhand Ori Res Ins*, Vol XI, pp 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atryāyikāya no gahitavaya* 'nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)'. Our record speaks of two *atryāyikas*, one of which is *su-atryāyika*. It is this *atryāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohgaura copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohgaura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Śrāvastī, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counter-acting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadśā influenced by the Māgadhi<sup>1</sup>. It was really the language of the Mauryan Court.

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D R Bhandarkar's *Aśoka* (2nd Ed) pp 200-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts conterminous to it. Places like Kālsī in the Dehra Dun District, Dhaulī in the Purī, and Jaugadā in the Ganjām District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these recensions are couched in the Madhyadēśa Māgadhi dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Āitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Śunahsēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country" <sup>1</sup>. The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the Brāhmaṇa was the Pundras, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal <sup>2</sup>. The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Āitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Pundra or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jamas. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jamas, mentions not one, but three *śākhās*, of the Godāsa Gana of Jaina monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōtivarsha and Pundravardhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamruk in the Midnapur, Kōtivarsha, the same as Bāngarh in the Dinājpur, and Pundravardhana, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jains being numerous in Pundravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhārpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159=477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin <sup>3</sup>. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jamas settled in Tāmralipti, Kōtivarsha and Pundravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pātaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is—Who were the Samvāmgiyas, supposing that was the name really intended? <sup>2</sup> Samvāmgiyas in the first place reminds us of Samvājji. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih* (=Vrijji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sam-fa-chih* (or Samvājji) country" <sup>4</sup>. On this point Beal makes the following per-

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that the Pundras of even so late a period as that of the Purāṇas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 81.

ment comment The country of the Vṛjṣ or Samvṛjṣ, i.e., united Vṛjṣ, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vṛjṣ or Vajjṣ, one of which, viz., that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaisālī”<sup>1</sup> Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjṣ were once the most important were called collectively the Samvajjṣ or the United Vajjṣ, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Samvamgīyas This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vamgīvas, after whom the confederation was styled the Samvamgīyas or the United Vamgīvas The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vangas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coming a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vamgīya If we now turn to the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purānas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vinyāsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravangas and Vangēyas But be it noted that there is none which has been called Vanga Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vangēya comes so close to the Vamgīya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purānas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vamgīya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vangēya of the *Purānas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it Again, the fact that Pravangas are coupled with Vangīyas (wrongly called Vangēyas) in these early *Purānas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Samvamgīyas And further the reference to the Samvamgīyas in connection with Pundranagara goes to indicate that the Pundras also belonged to the Samvamgīya confederacy And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Samvajjī confederacy was Vesālī which was the headquarters not of the Vajjṣ but of the Lichhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Samvamgīyas was Pundranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vangīyas but of the Pundras after whom it was undoubtedly called Pundranagara

No 15 - JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA  
KALACHURI YEAR 918

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore **two copper-plates** were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archaeological Chemist through the Director General of Archaeology in India with the result that Mr. Mohammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate The original plates are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas

The plates measure 14" × 9½", each weighing 6 lbs There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side It appears that the writer did not care

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalize himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging  $\frac{1}{2}$ " against  $\frac{3}{8}$ " of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The **characters** of the record are Nīgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography** there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. *V* has invariably been used for *b* in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, e.g. *abja* (l. 1), *abdh* (l. 2) etc. The old form of *z* with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village **Agarā** near **Akharauda** at the time of a lunar eclipse on **Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D.** The donor, the P. M. P. **Jayasimhadeva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of the three Kalingas after bathing in the R̥vā (Narmadā) at Tripurī, the well known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to Pandita Dillama Śarmā, son of Pandita Dāmōdara of the Agastya *gōtra*, with 3 *pravāsa*s in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort Kēlhanadēvī, the Heir apparent, the Prime-minister the Royal Preceptor Vimalasīva,<sup>1</sup> the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion Pandita R̥chaya the Chief Scribe Thakkura Vatsarāja,<sup>2</sup> the *Sāndhivigrahaka* (Minister for Peace and War) Thakkura Purushōttama the *Pratīhāra* (Chief Warden) Kamalasimha, the *Dushtasādhyā* (Mentor of criminals) Padmasimha, the *Mahāsāmanta* (Generalissimo), the *Ikshapatalaka* (Record Keeper) the Judge, the *Āśvasādhanika* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *mahuā* trees, with salt pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, etc., with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *Ghāṭa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes, which are usually not found in other records. The office of *Dushtasādhyā* which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of <sup>3</sup>*Dauhsādhasādhanika* usually found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. *Pamattasāra* seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of *Pramātra*. The transfer of the river and the mountain

<sup>1</sup> The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śaiva ascetics of the *Mattamayūra* clan—See Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I.) pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The two officials Vatsarāja and Purushōttama are mentioned also in the Kumbhi plates—See Banerji, *Haihayas*, etc. p. 29 and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff. Ed.

<sup>3</sup> According to R. B. Dayaram Sāhni (See *Above* Vol. XIV, p. 195 or 'Head of the Office of Accounts'), according to Dr. Barnett (*Id.* Vol. XII, p. 146).

<sup>4</sup> It is very likely that *Duhsādhyas* are represented by the present day *Dusadhs*, a criminal tribe, as suggested by Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donee *Duhsādhya*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Prāmaṇāda chārī rasaratī kāmata visēnīmādāya* which are the forerunners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a rigid form of home-farm, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate ६२ is written in small letters, which apparently means दानम् or gift No. 2 given on the same day.<sup>1</sup> The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The **genealogy** of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Vishnu. Brahmā's offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bōdhana, from whom sprang Purūravas, in whose family Bharata was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Kārtavīrya, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Haihaya Princes from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that race there was a prince named **Yuvarājadēva**, who purified the town of **Tripurī**, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came **Kōkalla** whose son was **Gāngēyadēva**, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious **Karnadēva**, succeeded him. He founded **Karnāvatī** and married a **Hūna** lady **Āvallādēvi**, from whom was born **Yasahkarnadēva**. His son was **Gayākarnadēva** whose consort was **Alhanadēvi**. From these were born **Narasimhadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva**, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the *gaddi* during the waning period of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. Jayasimhadēva succeeded his brother Narasimhadēva, who, we know from other records, was on the *gaddi* in 1159 A.D. The present record of Jayasimhadēva, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The **geographical** names occurring in the record are the well-known **Tripurī** (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpore), the river **Rēvā** or Narmadā near it, **Karnāvatī**, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages **Agarā** and **Akharauda**, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called *Dasamūlin* or *Dasamūhika*, named Vatsarāja, son of Dharma and grandson of Abhivuddhara and engraved by the silversmith Tālhana, son of Pālhana of the Kōkāsa family.

#### TEXT

[Metres — *Mālinī*, verses 1, 9, 12, *Āpachchhandasika*, v 2, *Vasantatilaka*, vv 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, *Āryā*, v 6, *Śālinī*, vv 11, 18, *Indravajrā*, v 13, *Anushtubh*, vv 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Sardūlavikrīdita*, vv 17, 30]

#### First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ [१ ॥\*] ओ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभी-  
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानजसूति. । अथ जयति स तस्या-
- 2 पत्यमन्त्रिस्तद्वत्तस्त[द\*]नु जयति जन्मप्राप्तवानम्बिव(ब)न्धुः ॥ [१ ॥\*] अथ  
बो(बो)धनमादि [रा]जपुत्रं ग्रहया(जा)मातरमजवा(वा)न्धवस्य । अथ  
तनय जनयाव(ब)

<sup>1</sup> Reading seems to be *de 2* which may be an abbreviation of *deya 2* —Ed

<sup>2</sup> See Hiralai's *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (1st edition), Nos 31, 37, 44

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहस. ॥ [२ ॥\*] पुत्रं पुरुरवसमौरसमाप  
सूनुर्द्वस्य सप्तजलराशिरमायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-
- 4 भागशतोपभोग्या यस्थोर्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्वरा च ॥ [३ ॥\*]  
अत्रा[न्वये] किल [शता]धिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 साव्वि(व्वि)रत्नरसनाभरणाभिरामविश्वभराशुभरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥ [४ ॥\*]  
हेला[गृहीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्तवीर्यः । अत्रै[व] हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मणि  
चक्षमे य. ॥ [५ ॥\*] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीभृता भ[र्त्ता] ।] मुक्तामणि[भि]रिवामलवृत्तैः पूत महीपति-  
भिः ॥ [६ ॥\*] तत्रान्वये नयवता प्रवरो [नरेन्द्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव  
पुरी चि-
- 8 पुरीं पुनान । आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धर्वाधिराजनिर्माथकसरियुवा युवराज-  
देवः ॥ [७ ॥\*] सि[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुष्यसूनु-
- 9 [मारु]पन्नवनिभर्तुर्माल्यमुख्या. । कोकल्लमर्षवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]संघसंघट्ट[ड]चतु-  
[रग]चमूपचारं ॥ [८ ॥\*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढव-
- 10 च्चाः [स्मिता]क्षो नगर[परि]घ[दैर्ध्वं] लंघयन्दोर्द्वयेन[ । शिरसि] कुलिश-  
पातो वैरि[णां] वी[र]लक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्य यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥\*]-
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[व(व)भ्यौ] सार्द्धं शतेन गृहि[णीभि] रमुत्र मुक्तिं ।  
पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [स्म] ककुभोर्चति
- 12 [कर्ष]दे[व] ॥ [१० ॥\*] अग्र्यं [धा]म अ[यसो] वे[दवि]द्याव-  
[क्ती]क[न्दः] स्वःस्रवंत्याः] किरीट । [त्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तम्भो] येन [कर्षा]-  
वतीति प्रत्यष्टा[पि] क्ष्मात[ल]त्र(ब्र)ह्मलो-
- 13 क. ॥ [११ ॥\*] अ [जनि] क[लचुरी]णा स्वामिना तेन ह्यणा-  
न्वयजलनिधि[लक्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदा]वल्लदेव्यां । श[शभृदुदय]शङ्काक्षुब्ध(व्व)-  
दुग्धाव्वि(व्वि)वीचीस
- 14 ह च[रित]गश.श्रीः[श्री] य[शकर्ष]देव. ॥ [१२ ॥\*] [तस्यात्मजो]-  
भूद[तुलप्रताप] श्रीमद्भयाकर्ष इति प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेषूङ्गतवैरि-  
कठ(कण्ठ)च्छेदा-

[illegible]





- 15 स[पूर्णेव ध]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३ ॥\*] असावल्लहदेव्या श्रीनरसिंहनरे-  
श्वरं । सवेदन[मि]वेच्छाया प्रयत्न सुषुवे सुत ॥ [१४ ॥\*]  
उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 प प्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परां विवु(बु)धसं[ह]तिषु प्रकुर्व्व[न्] । सौदर्यसार-  
विनिवारितसारगर्व्वश्चित्र तथाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेव ॥ [१५ ॥\*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयता जयसिंहदेव. शौर्योज्ज्वलैरपि नृपैः क्रियमाणसेवः\* ।  
यद्दामलुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(ब)लिना प्रलीन ॥ [१६ ॥\*] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(ब)लं मुक्तं  
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तं कुतलशासकेन सहसा कदम्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेक नृपा. सत्तासादपरेष्यपास्य जगती पारं ययु-  
र्व्वारिधे. ॥ [१७ ॥\*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-  
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

*Second Plate, first side*

- 21 श्वर त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजत्रयाधि-  
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराज्ञी श्री केल्लहदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामाल्य । श्री-  
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 प । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखि ठक्कुर<sup>1</sup> श्रीदशमूलिक । सांधि-  
विग्रहिक ठक्कुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्य श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अन्नपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार ।  
अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न ग्रामनिवासि जनपदांश्चाह्वय यथाहं मानयन्ति वो(बो)धयंति समाज्ञापयंति च ।  
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । सवत् ९१८ आश्व-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या सोमग्रहणे रेवायां  
विधिवत्त्वात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिहृदये अखरौदसमीपे अग्रा ग्राम स्वसोमापर्य्यंतश्चतुरा-  
घाटविशुद्ध सगोप्रचार ।
- 28 सजलस्थल<sup>1</sup> साम्प्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्तोषर. सनिगमप्रवेश. सजाङ्ग-  
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नल्लणादिसहितः सनदीपर्व्वतः भागकर प्रवणिवाड चरो रसवती कामत  
विसेणिमादाय पट्टकिलादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

<sup>1</sup> The name of Vatsarāja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsarāja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l 40 of the text

- 30 य विषयिकादायादिकृत करिष्यामाणादायैः सह अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय  
पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेवहर्ष-  
31 शर्मणि ब्रा ब्रा)ह्मणयोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना  
दातुर्भवति यथा ॥ सर्वानिताम्भाविन पार्थिवे-  
32 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र । सामान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(र्तृ)पाणा  
• काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१८ ॥<sup>1</sup>] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता  
राज-  
33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा[भू]मिस्तस्य स्र(त)स्य तदा फलं ॥ १९ ॥\*]  
सुवर्षमेकं गामिकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-  
34 दाभूतसङ्गव ॥ [२० ॥\*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशर्तन च । गवां  
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
वा यो हरति व-  
35 सुन्वरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥\*]  
षष्ठि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
तान्ये-  
36 व नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥\*] वारिहीनेश्वरशेषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।  
क्षणसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देव(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥\*] अन्यायेन  
37 हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासप्तमं  
कुलं ॥ [२५ ॥\*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-  
38 त्ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माखौ नियतं स्वर्गमाप्तिनौ ॥ [२६ ॥\*]  
शंखो भद्रास्त्रं [च्छ]त्रं वराखा वरवारणा [१\*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्ना-  
39 नि कलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७ ॥\*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिचीणे यः कश्चिन्नृपति-  
र्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८ ॥\*]  
40 अभ्युदयरस्य पीत्रेण श्रीमद्वर्मास्य सूनूना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदोश-  
दशमूलिना ॥ [२८ ॥\*] मङ्गल ॥ महाश्री ॥

*Second Plate, second side*

- 41 सिद्धम्<sup>1</sup> [॥\*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोर्ष्वं प्रीणयन्पूषः शोत-  
मरीचिरंचिततमैरभ्यर्चितः सद्गुणैः । विद्या,  
42 कंदलयस्तमांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतिर्यज्वनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषा द्राघोयसे  
राघवः ॥ [३० ॥\*]  
43 श्रीकोकसवंशपाह्णसुतरूपकारताह्णनेत्रोक्षे ॥

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by symbol as in 1 above

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2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125,

## No 16 —NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nālandā in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B A, Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr N P Chakravarti, M A, Ph D, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½" by 8¼" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ⅜". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nayapāla (cir 1030 A D)<sup>1</sup> and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (cir 1183 A D)<sup>2</sup>. The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gangādhara in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i e, 1137 A D<sup>3</sup>. The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Om namō Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *praśasti* (l 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karunāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vangāla (V 2). His disciple was Matrisrimitra (V 3) whose disciple again was Asōkaśrimitra (V 4) and Asōkaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjūshā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppana, for the *Prayñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Putāmaha* (i e Buddha) at Chōyandaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (i e Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at Harshapura (V 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mitras (V 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated, but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose *dēbris* the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakasrī and Vasishtha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyandaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

<sup>1</sup> *Mem A S B*, Vol V, No 3, Pls XXV and XXVI

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Pl XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol V (1929), p 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. II, p 330



with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *śrī-Sōmapurē śrī-Dharmmapālādēva-mahāvihārē*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings<sup>1</sup> discovered by Mr K N Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhī District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodhi-Gayā inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions the *mahā-vihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*<sup>3</sup> it is stated that king Dēvapāla, the son of Dharmmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura', and, according to the *Pag-sam-ron-zang*,<sup>4</sup> the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapuri' after his conquest of Varēndri or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmmapāla, and not to his son.<sup>5</sup> Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Dharmakāyadīpanī* and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*.<sup>6</sup> The latter was translated by the great scholar Dipankara Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Vīryasimha and Jayasīla at the Sōmapuri-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipulaśrīmitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vangāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndrachōla I<sup>7</sup> and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Dākārnava*.<sup>8</sup>

## TEXT

[Metres —vv 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, v 3; Mandākrāntā; v 4, Śikharinī, v 5, Mālinī, vv. 6, 11, Vasantatilakā, v 7, Indravajrā, v 9, Upajāti, v 13, Anushtubh.]

1. Ōm<sup>9</sup> namō Buddhāya|| Astu svastyayanāya vah sa bhagavān śrī-Dharmma-  
chakraḥ kṛyad=yan-nāma śrutavān=Bhavō='sthira-vapur=nirjīvam=uttāmyati | tatra  
Śrīghanaśāsan-āmrta-rasaih samsichya

2. Buddhē padē tam dhēyād=apunarbhavam bhagavati Tārā jagat-tārini || [1\*]  
Śrīmat-Sōmapurē vabh[ū]va Karunāśrīmitra nāmā yatih kārūnyād=guṇa-  
sāmpadō hita-sukh-ādhānād=apī prāni-

3. nām yō Vangāla-balar=upētya dahana-kshēpā=jvalaty=ālayē samlagnaś=  
charan-āravinda-yugalē Buddhasya yātō divam || [2\*] Tasy=āchchhidra-vrata-  
parichutasy=ōchuta-smēra-kīrttēh śishyō='dṛṣṭhiyah

4. sakṛita-ghatitō buddhamān buddhimatsu | Maitrīśrīr=ity=upari viditō mitra-  
vat<sup>10</sup> Mitra-nāmā [sa]tvasy=ārthē svam=udāyam=upāditsur=utsāhavān yah ||  
[3\*] Prāśishyō=py=anvishy=āśraya-

<sup>1</sup> A. B. A. S. I., 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

<sup>2</sup> Bloch, A. R., A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 158, and Majumdar, *Sahitya-Pariśat-Patrikā*, Calcutta, 1323 B. S., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Sarat Ch. Das, pp. III and 116.

<sup>5</sup> [It is possible that Dēvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Condon, *Catalogue des Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 166 and Part III, p. 299.

<sup>7</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> Read -van-Mitra-

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

१ नमावद्वाया॥ अमन्वश्चमनामवः मनगवान् श्रीवश्चक्रुः कर्मयुग्मी  
 वाश्चयश्चनं वद्यादयननं वनगतनीनासकगन्तारिणी॥ श्रीमात्मा मयश्च  
 ना॥ आवज्ञालवर्तिकायनाददनां कया कूलन्यालम्यमलग्नश्चवणा रविश्चय  
 सकूनटाटिना वद्विमानवद्विमत्मा मेती श्रीश्चय रवि विदिनामितवत्त  
 मलनमागे चिवगुणैरवीनः मंजिष्ठादनिचमलनीलः समनवत्ता अ  
 नी॥ नदवचवियल श्रीमितवत्ता विगामी द्वियल विमलकीर्तिः मङ्गल  
 कप्रसीवा श्रीमत्त्वमयुगमद्रायनमयुमत्ता मङ्गलव्या विदिनया क  
 यश्चायाय कृकमयिनामदम्यवी दारिका मां नवकश्चिवत्त दय  
 नां निमूलमञ्जलिर्न नासिणानवन्ववत्त सकुनी प्रालङ्कयलं कृनिं  
 नैकविश्रामत्तः॥ अदत्तमानवर्णं विचिन्वद्वायवाती कननां  
 नविद्वाविका कूनवनालका वत्तना नृवामिभुम्भाः कूनवैकमत्तक  
 पुद्गावामनिता ममविजननादः मञ्जुयया वत्तनादत्तं दयः यदवि  
 वमता सुवत्री मातृमृगानिनमं कुरवयनिज्ञानत्तकीर्तिवितीम्  
 मा अमुयमुनवमुवक रनलयश्चित्रिर्विज्ञानामनामी मयश्चि  
 श्रीवशिष्ठायाय प्रमिवाक्रिकारका॥

[illegible]

१ त्राभ्यानिनवश्रीयनशामनाभृतरभेः संमित्र  
 २ काकणाङ्गमंयथादिनमखावानादयियाणि  
 ३ वनयचिचिनश्चाचिनश्मरकी। त्रः प्रश्नारवृष्टः  
 ४ आदित्यकल्पादवानमः। यप्रिश्नायात्रिष्ठाप्रया  
 ५ पद्धदयमदंश्चस्मानिः यनितमनिमं वद्धजन।  
 ६ कालिनाप्रवदायः मननमयचिनश्रीः शुक्रय  
 ७ यनिमाश्चनमः मन्त्रषयवृणिममयानिश्म  
 ८ णयनिमां ववन्नाभुश्चायप्रमदानमानिङ्ग  
 ९ त्रर्क्षिः खण्ड्यायश्चावन्ननवीनकश्चयना  
 १० मकालं वशीवदीयं नयनिश्मनवाकृताना  
 ११ भृनवाञ्जिवामचमिकः प्रश्नात्रिलाकीयतिः  
 १२ ममनीकृतनक्षणात्तः। नावचिचं जयनिन  
 १३ नंयणं यद्धवग्नचालतुलनायानंयतिनंम  
 १४ नक्प्रिययमङ्गदीवावभाङ्गनां द्विदिकनका



- 5 m=alabhamānair=iva gunair=adhītaḥ samślishtō yatir=amala śīlah samabhavat 1  
**Aśōkasrīmītrō** guna-samudayē yasya hrīdayē sahasrair=ashtābhiḥ prativasatī  
 Sambuddha-jana-
- 6 -nī || [4\*] Tad=anu cha **Vipulasrīmītra** ity=āvirāsīd=vipula-vimala-kīrttiḥ  
 saj-jan-ānanda-kandah | amṛitamaya kalābhiḥ kshālīt-āsēsha-dōshah satatam=upa-  
 chita śrīh śukla-pa-
- 7 kshē śās=īva || [5\*] Śrīmat-Khasarppana-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt<sup>1</sup> mañjūshayā  
 vihitayā janani Jinānām | yēna bhramaty=aviratam pratimās=chatasrah  
 sattreṣhu parvvanī samarppayati sma
- 8 yaś=cha || [6\*] **Chōyandakē** yaś=cha Pitāmahasya viharikāyām nava-  
 karma chitram | **Harsh-ābhūdhanē** cha purē Jinasya Dīpankarasya  
 pratimām vyadhata || [7\*] Ashtau yaś=cha mahā-bhayān jagā-
- 9 tām nirmūlam=unmūltum Tārinyā bhavanam vyadhata sukṛtī śāla-hrad-  
 ālamkṛitum | sṛimat-**Sōmapurē** chaturshu layanēshv=antar-vahih-khandayōr=yaś=  
 ch=ādhatta navina-karma jagatām
- 10 nētr-aika-viśrāma-bhūh || [8\*] Adatta hēm-ābharaṇam vihitram Buddhāya  
 bōdhau janatām vidhātum | ity=ādī punya-kriyayā sa kalam vaś=īva dir-  
 gham nayati sma tatra || [9\*] Kṛtvā tē-
- 11 na viharikā kṛtavatā=lankāra-bhūtā bhuvō **Mitrābhayō**=dbhuta-Vajrayanta-  
 jayinī datt=ēyam=unmīlatī | yasyām viṣṇūbhavān=uvāsa-rasikah Śāstā tri-  
 lōki-patih
- 12 Śuddhāvāsa-nivāsam=arthi-janatā-duḥṣaṇchara-prāntaram || [10\*] Hartum Harēḥ  
 padam=iv=ājanī tatra tatra kīrttir=yayā vasumatī kṛta-bhūshanā bhūh |  
 tāvach=chiram javati nē-
- 13 tra-sudhā sravanti yāvat=samridhyati na Mamjurava-pratijñā || [11\*] Tat-  
 tat-kīrtti-vidhau sudhā-nidhau=iv=āmbhōdhau samunmūltam punyam yad=  
 bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātram pavitram ma-
- 14 ma | astu prastuta-vastuvat kara-talē paśyanti viśvam Jinā yatir=āsīma-  
 padē sthitās=tri-jagatām tat-prāptayē tach=chiram || [12\*] Tarkka-śilpa-prasangē  
 yau dhāvatō jagatām hrīdī | **Kanaka-**
- 15 **srīr=Vasīsthō** vā prasasti-vyakti-kāraṇau || [13\*]

## TRANSLATION

Om ' Adoration to the Buddha '

(Verse 1) May the divine and illustrious Dharma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless, thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrighana (i.e., Buddha),<sup>2</sup> may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha

(Verse 2) In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, there was the ascetic **Karunāsrīmītra**, so called on account of his compassionate disposition<sup>3</sup>, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

<sup>1</sup> Read *prayatnāt=mañjūshayā*

<sup>2</sup> For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 55

<sup>3</sup> The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, viz., *karunā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitratva* (benevolence) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings, who, when his house was burning, (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vangāla**, attached (*himself*) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (*and*) went to heaven

(Verse 3) The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Matrīśrīmītra**. He was invincible (*in argument*), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,<sup>1</sup> like the Sun himself

(Verse 4) The disciple's disciple (of **Karunāśrīmītra**) was the ascetic **Asōkaśrīmītra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand<sup>2</sup> (*verses*)

(Verse 5) After him there came **Vipulaśrīmītra** of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (*of the month*), washing away (*i.e.*, brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits [or who wiped away all blemishes by (*his knowledge of*) the elegant arts]

(Verse 6) With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious **Khasarppana** (*i.e.*, **Avalōkitēśvara**), the mother of the Jinas (*i.e.*, **Prajñāpāramitā**) incessantly moves about.<sup>3</sup> He also presented in the alms-houses<sup>4</sup> four images on the occasion of a festival

(Verse 7) He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of **Putāmaha**<sup>5</sup> (*i.e.*, Buddha) at **Chōyandaka**, and (installed) an image of the Jina **Dīpankara** at **Harshapura**

(Verse 8) In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears<sup>6</sup> of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of **Tārīnī** (*i.e.*, **Tārā**) adorned with

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a pun on the words *mitra* and *udaya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Aśṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The goddess **Prajñāpāramitā** is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', *e.g.*, in *Aśṭasāhasrikā* (Bib. Ind.), p. 529. She is often identified with **Tārā**, *e.g.*, in verse 2 of the inscription of **Chālukya Vikramāditya VI** (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 185). That is why **Tārā** is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

<sup>3</sup> The casket offered by **Vipulaśrīmītra** at the temple of the god **Khasarppana** (who is the husband of **Tārā** or **Prajñāpāramitā**) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (*i.e.*, the manuscript), in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of **Khasarppana** stood.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of *sattra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 615 ff. The alms-houses must have been those adjoining the temple.

<sup>5</sup> The term **Putāmaha**, which is usually applied to **Brahmā**, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of **Kanishka** on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathura (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another **Kushān** inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at **Bhūtā** near **Allahabad** (*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C, Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94, Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 910). The appellation **Putāmaha** is suggestive of the idea of **Ādi Buddha** who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of **Brahmā**.

<sup>6</sup> The goddess **Tārā** is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67, *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 20, p. 18). In **Sarvajñamitra's** *Sragdharā-sūtra* eight stanzas are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, fetters and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to **Tārā** in an inscription of the **Chālukya King Vikramāditya VI** (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the **Darbār Cave** at **Kanheri** (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 358, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells<sup>1</sup>,—(*a work*) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose

(Verse 9) He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in (*the path of*) Enlightenment, and there (*i e*, at Sōmapura) (*engaged*) in such meritorious deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time

(Verse 10) That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitras<sup>2</sup> The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (*good*) residences, forgot while here, (*even*) the abode in Śuddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers

(Verse 11) (*His*) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (*exalted*) position May that flowing nectar of the eve (*i e*, his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (*i e*, Mañjughōsha or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled<sup>3</sup>

(Verse 12) May the pure merit, the (*only*) measure of comparison (*with which is*) the etherial space, that may accrue to me<sup>4</sup> out of these famous achievements even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place<sup>5</sup> from which the Jinās (*i e*, Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (*as distinctly*) as an object under discussion placed on the palm

(Verse 13) **Kanakaśrī** and **Vaśishtha** who, (*respectively*) in the matter of dialectics and arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (*this*) eulogy (*one by composing and the other by engraving it*)

[P S—Recent excavations at the Satyapuri Bhītā at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A.D. in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulaśrimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas —Ed.]

## No 17 —TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., COIMBATORE

The inscription edited below comes from **Tiruchchendūr** in the Tinnevely District Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

<sup>1</sup> [I should prefer to take *chaturshu layanēshu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery)' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D. both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world' —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged

<sup>3</sup> In a work called the *Mañjuśrī Buddha kshētra gūṇa vyūha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi-sattva vow' "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings"—Poussin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol 8, p 405 and n. 2 The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures Cf *Kāraṇḍavyūha* —Y(T)avat Avalokiteśvarasya dr̥ḍha pratijñā na paripūrītā bhavati, sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-duḥkṣhēbhyaḥ parimōkṣhataḥ yavat anuttarayām samyak sambōdham na pratishthāptā bhavanti, etc,

<sup>4</sup> The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself

<sup>5</sup> This is Sukhāvātī Cf *Śragdhara stōtra*, verse 37,



second *prāhāra* of the Subrahmanya temple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it *in situ*, satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 4' 7" by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is engraved in the **Vatteluttu** alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the **Tamil language**. The only **Grantha** letters found used in it are *Śrī* (ll. 1, 111, 135, 160 and 169) and *saṃ* in *upāsanyār* (l. 3). The following **palaeographical** peculiarities are worth noticing.—The rare letter *āydam* (equivalent to a *visarga*), which is indicated in modern Tamil by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division sign (see *ahgam-āga*, l. 35). Two forms of *ya* occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop for the former see the *ya*'s of *yāndu* (l. 1), *upāsanyā* (l. 3) and *yār-adaṇṇā* (l. 5), and for the latter see *ya* in *Mārāya* (l. 1). Long *ū* is generally distinguished from the short *u* as in *nū* of *nūru* (l. 8), or *nū* of *tonnūrr-āru* (l. 10) and *nū* in *nūrru* (ll. 12 and 21), but in the case of *ku* and *kū*, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent *po* and *pō* except in l. 43. In line 51, short *po* gets the length stroke. The vowel *u* is hardly distinguishable from *nā*. The cross stroke of *ka* is generally indistinct (see *mūv-adukh-āga* in l. 61 and *palan-kāsu* in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in *śiru-kaduḥ-amadu* in l. 42. *Nā* is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in *nāl* at the beginning of ll. 25 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of *sandhi* as is the case in the early epigraphs like the *Vēlvikkudī* plates of *Nedunjadaiyan*. In all places where the word *vargal* occurs the *r* is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of **etymological** interest. One of them is *kāyam*. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *kṣhāra* (pungent) which becomes *kṣhāra* in Prakṛit and *kāraṃ* in Tamil. As *ya* is often substituted for *ra*, *kāraṃ* becomes *kāyam*, cf. *veṇṇāram* and *veṇṇāyam*, *peruṇṇāram* and *peruṇṇāyam*. The change of *ra* into *ya* is illustrated by the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit words *dvār* and *vārikūlyā* which change into *vāy* and *vāyikūl* in Tamil. The word *kāyam* has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively 'asafoetida', but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small mustard, and cardamom formed the five *kāyams*<sup>2</sup> and thereby proves that the popular meaning of *kāyam* as 'asafoetida' does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word *kāṇam* has to be derived from *kārṣhāpāna* through its Prakṛit form *kaḥāpāna*. *Pol* is the contracted form of *polśar* (interest) which occurs in modern Malayālam as *paḷśa*; these words are derived from the root *polā*, "to increase". Another somewhat puzzling word is *pōttara* (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots *pō* and *tā* and a contraction from "*pōgumbaḍa tara*" meaning

<sup>1</sup> [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of ll. 41 to 45, (ii) at the close of l. 95, (iii) at the commencement of l. 102, 105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked stampage.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *niṣṭa-nvaṇḍa-paḷā kayattikkū* occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase "*paḷā-kayattikkū*" shows that the word *kāyam* was used as a general name for "more than one" article and not for 'asafoetida' alone. Compare the use of the word in "*uṇṇ pōḍu ney pā rayir kāyam peyḍ*

“having given to be taken” This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *ahgam* (ll 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions, but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ērru* used in place of *āga*, “in all together”. In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ērru-kuraittu*, “adding together or subtracting”. *Nūru* of *nūrr-amidu* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*verrilai*) and areca nuts (*adaikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *diśaichchol* (‘a dialectical word’) in Tamil taken from Malayālam where it is still used in the sense of ‘slaked lime’. A variant of this word is *nīru* which means “powder, ash” (cf. *nīru-pūtta-neruppu*, “fire covered over with ash”). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of ‘a grain measure,’ generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāsam*<sup>1</sup> denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṅgi*, generally spelt as *nādāṅgi*=‘the iron bolt’. The restriction of the terms *nārāsam* and *nārāṅgi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāsam* in the sense of ‘molten lead or iron’ indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārā* meaning “iron” or “metal”. The commentary on *nārācha* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as ‘*lōhamayō bānah* (=an iron arrow)’. Childers explains *nārācha* as “an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin”. Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *ṇḡadi* and *ṇḡadi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *ṇḡadam*, *ṇḡadam* and *ṇḡitam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *ṇḡyam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tumi* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbānāruppadaṇ* occurs the phrase *puṇṇai tumittu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as “cutting the branch of the *puṇṇai* (tree)”. It also occurs in l 72 of *Mullarppāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *kaṇṇi tumikkavum porikkavum* (l 26) may be taken to mean “vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried”.

The object of the inscription is thus stated in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhatāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlattānam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *kāṣu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkudi-kīlavan, Śāttamperumāṇ and Alarūmāṭṭukkōṇ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for *bali*, plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *kāyam* for seasoning articles, green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kummāyam* and for *pori*, betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were sold by weight and lime (not priced)), ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, oil for the anointment of the god, milk, curd and the water of the tender cocoanut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god, honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense, turmeric, *pachchav-karpūram* and sandal required for the smearing of the deity, cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels), and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kummāyam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

<sup>1</sup> In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote “a channel” or “lane”. Cf. *Subrahmanya nārāṣāṭṭin vaḍakkum* (No 155 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p 326).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkkiṇiyār annotating text line 195 of *Perumbānārruppadai* states that the preparation called *pulukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *pulukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. <sup>1</sup>*Mārgaḷi-Tiruvāḍarai*, *Māṣi-Makham* and *Vaiyāsi Viśākham*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāsu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ūrār* of Ālambattam included in Gangamangalam and the *nagarattār* of Mānavirapattinam, both situated in Vaḷudi-valanādu, (2) the *sabhā* of Kattāramangalam in Śrīvallabhalanādu, (3) the *sabhās* of Tinnai included in Paraśumangalam, Māramangalam and Tenrakku Ilur, all situated in Parāntaka-valanādu, (4) as well as the *sabhās* of Avanipaśēkharamangalam, in Amitaguna-valanādu and Puliyidai, Kīranūr, Śadangavikurichchi and Kadungōmangalam, all situated in Kudanādu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāsu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *ūrār* and the *sabhavyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *pattinam*, it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "*ūrār*" and "*sabhā*" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity at default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital *plus* the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli niran-madi-nārāyam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures, thus while a *kurumi* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāl* and a *kalam* 15 *kurumi*, the ordinary *kurumi* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāl* and a *kalam* of 12 *kurumi*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāl*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 6 *nāl* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *palṣai kuduppadāna aru-nāl-kkāl*.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāsu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāsu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

<sup>1</sup> [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha and Vaiśākha respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārdra, Maghā and Viśākḥa respectively.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> No. 185 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S I I*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāśu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāl* of *kāyam*, 1,220 *parṇu* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāl* of flowers, 15 *kalañju* of *karpūram* or 112 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient Tamil works of the *Sangam* period mention *kāśu*, *kānam* and *pon* among the coins current in South India, but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāśu* was represented by a *pon* or *kānam*. Nachchinārkkiniyār in his commentary on *Jivakachintāmani* states, however, that *kānam* means a *pon-kāśu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *pon* or a gold *kāśu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kānam* and *pon* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāśu*. This ratio between a *pon* and a *kāśu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāśu* and 5 *pon* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāśu*. Now applying this value of a *pon* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kurun*, and from item 2 we obtain that a *kurun* contained 6 *nāl*, and that a *nāl* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāl* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāl* of flowers for one *kāśu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *ulakku* and that 1 *ulakku* was made up of 2 *ālākku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *bali*-offerings at 2 *nāl* per day, (2) 4 *anar* of cloth at 2½ *anar* per *kāśu* and (3) 8 *anar* of cloth at 2 *anar* per *kāśu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kānam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāśu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāśu*). Since 26/10 *kāśu* = 26 *kānam*, 1 *kāśu* was equal to 10 *kānam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kalañju* equalled 10 *kānam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. —

*Money*

10 *pon* or 10 *kānam* = 1 *kāśu*

*Weight*

10 *kānam* = 1 *kalañju*  
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*

*Measure*

10 *śevīḍu* or 2 *ālākku* = 1 *ulakku*  
2 *ulakku* = 1 *uri*  
2 *uri* = 1 *nāl*  
6 *nāl* = 1 *kurun*  
15 *kurun* = 1 *kalam*

*Number.*

4 *aḍukku* = 1 *parṇu*

<sup>1</sup> See lines 39 ff, 59 f, 110 f, 122 and 197 of the Text given below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Pāndya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II)**. The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be **thirteen**. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as **5001** in words which yields **13 years** of 365 days and **256 days**. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāndya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vatteluttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palaeographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Valudi-valanādu, Kadungōmangalam, Māramangalam, Parāntaka-valanādu, Varaguna mangalam, and Śrīvallabha-valanādu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāndya kings Palyāga-śālai-Mudukudumi-Peru-Valudi,<sup>1</sup> Kadungōn, Mājavarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Noduṇḍaḍayan and Śrī vara), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāndya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśekharamangalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśekhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-valanādu and Avanipaśekhara-mangalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. **The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874**, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkudi-kilavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Mārāya through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *kāśu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Etti Śāttan from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkangudi (No 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkudi-kilavan by king Śrīvallabhā. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

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<sup>1</sup> We know of no other Valudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra Peruvaludi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram<sup>1</sup> record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, *viz* two *kālam* of paddy for one *kāsu*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kālam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāl* and a *kūruṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāl*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (*e.g.* vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

*Prices of articles* (A=Ambāsamudram T=Tiruchchendūr)

1	1 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kālam</i>	T
2	30 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāl</i> of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3	3 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāl</i> of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4	1 <i>pālam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāl</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy	A
	7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>pālam</i> for 10 <i>kālam</i>	T
5	10 <i>pālam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāl</i> of paddy	A
	20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kālam</i> of paddy	T
6	6 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 <i>ulakku</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	A
	1 <i>kāsu</i> (10 <i>kālam</i> ) fetched 60 <i>nāl</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikuntham on the sea.<sup>2</sup> Korkai and Māramangalam are in the Śrīvaikuntam taluk and Nallūr and Kattāramangalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korkai was an important place in the Pāndya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*<sup>3</sup> and Ptolemy<sup>4</sup> mention it, the former under the name of Kolchi or Korkoy. Mr R. Sewell states<sup>5</sup> that Māramangalam is the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IX, p 90

<sup>2</sup> Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol I, p 313

<sup>3</sup> Schoff's edition, pp 46 and 237 8

<sup>4</sup> Majumdar *McCrindle's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp 57 8, 78

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p 312. No 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuda nādu. From an inscription at Akkāśālai (No 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korkai and had in it Akkāśālai Iśvaramudaiyār. It is further stated that Korkai was surnamed Madhurāntakanallūr and that it was in Kuda nādu, a sub division of Uttamaśōla valanādu which was a district of Rājārāja Pāndinādu.

site of ancient Korkai and that Akkāśālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-valanādu.<sup>1</sup> As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-valanādu itself must have been called after Mārañjadaiyan *alias* Neduñja daiyan Parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuda-nādu, Māramangalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māranēri and Māramangalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māramangalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvaludi-valanādu, the latter was in Parāntaka-valanādu.<sup>2</sup> Since Māramangalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-valanādu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai, and not with Māranēri. Valudai-valanādu in which were situated Varagunamangalam, Iṉavālmangalam, Tiyaṁbakamangalam, Gangamangalam and Mānavīrapattinam, was also called Tiruvaludi-valanādu or Valudi-valanādu or Valudi-nādu and had in it Ālvār-Tirunagarī, the birthplace of the Vaishnava saint Nammālvār, and Śrīvaikuntham.<sup>3</sup> Varagunamangalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaishnavas in the Pāndya country.<sup>4</sup> It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammālvār<sup>5</sup> and is known from his days as Varagunamangai,<sup>6</sup> that being a shortened form of Varagunamangalam. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguna I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīranūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.<sup>7</sup> The sub-division Amitaguna-valanādu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr<sup>8</sup> under the name Amudaguna-valanādu.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māramangalam was called Dēvēndravallabha chaturvēdmangalam and that it was a *brahmadēya* in Parāntaka-valanādu, a sub-division of Mudikondasola valanādu which was a district of Rajarāja Pāndinadu.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 174 of 1895 and 480 of 1909.

<sup>4</sup> The 18 places are — (1) Tirumāhruṇṇolai, *i.e.* Alagarmalai, 12 miles north east of Madura, (2) Tirukōttaiyūr, 27 miles north east of Manā Madura, (3) Tirumayyam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukkottai State, (4) Tiruppullāni, 6 miles to the south of Ramnad, (5) Tiruttankal, 13 miles west of Śāttūr, (6) Tirukkūdal, half a mile east of Madura, (7) Srivilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Śāttūr, (8) Tirumōgūr, 7 miles north east of Madura, (9) Tirukkurugūr, *i.e.* Ālvār Tirunagarī, 19 miles east of Tinnevely, (10) Tulaivilmangalam, *i.e.* Irattattiruppati, 25 miles north of Tinnevely, (11) Śrīvaramangai, *i.e.* Vanamāmalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely, (12) Tiruppulingudi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely, (13) Tiruppērai, 24 miles east of Tinnevely, (14) Śrīvaikuntham, 16 miles east of Tinnevely, (15) Varagunamangai, 18 miles north east of Tinnevely, (16) Tirukkuḷandai, *i.e.* Perungūlam, 26 miles north east of Tinnevely, (17) Tirukkurungudi, 26 miles south of Tinnevely, and (18) Tirukkoḷūr, 26 miles east of Tinnevely.

<sup>5</sup> This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words *Pulingudi kkaṇḍu Varagunamangaiyir vundu Varkundam ninnru*, etc. The date of birth of Nammālvār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 798 corresponding to Pramāthi, Vargaśi, śu 15, Viśākhā, Friday (See his *Indian Ephemeris*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguna I, after whom the place was named.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of Varagunamangai and Srīvaramangai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take *mangai* as a feminine suffix like *valli* and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguna and Srīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāndya kings Varaguna and Srīvara.

<sup>7</sup> No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1916.

<sup>8</sup> No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

## TEXT

*First slab, First face*

1           Śrī Kō Varaguna-Mārāvarku yāndu  
 2           dan-edir padin-mūnru ivv-āndu Tīru-  
 3           Suppiraman(n)iya-Batārar-upāsaiyā-  
 4       ina Tirumūlattānattu=ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-kedāmai=ppolūtt<sup>1</sup> ā-  
 5 ga kondu śeluttuvad-āga udaivār-adivār-āina<sup>2</sup> Varaguna-Mārāvar pō-  
 6 ttara Iruppaikkudi-kilavanum Sāttamperumānum Alarrū[r\*]-[nā]-  
 7 ttu-kkōnum aiyaīratt<sup>3</sup>-onrā-nālār-kondu-vanda nīrai-kuṟaiyā=ppa-  
 8 lan-kāsu āirattu<sup>4</sup>-nā-nūru [i\*] i-kkāsīr=Kuda-nāttu=kKoṟkai-ūrār kaṇṇ<sup>5</sup>  
 9 mudal-kedāmai=ppolūttu=kkondu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta nīrai-  
 10 kuraivā=ppalan-kāsu tonnūrr ā[ru] ponn=ettu [i\*] i-kkāsāl oru-kā-  
 11 ūkku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala nell āga va-  
 12 nda nellu nūrru-ttonnūrru-mukkalanēy onbadin kuruni [i\*] i-n-  
 13 nellāl niyadippadi iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [i\*] nālī  
 14 arisikku mu-nnālī nell-āga=ttiruv-amidinukku aris[i\*] sēnner-rīt-  
 15 tal oru-pōḍaikkku nā nāliy-āga nāngu pōḍaikkku arisi sēnner rītta-  
 16 l padin-arū-nālī [i\*] Mārgali-tTiruvādiraiu<sup>6</sup>=Māsi-Makamum Vaiyāsi-  
 17 Viyākamum padī irattī śeluttuvadu [i\*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu ku-  
 18 ttukkārpadi i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-añju kāsū dandamum pa-  
 19 ttu=cheheluttādu vitta mudal=irattiyun=kuduppadu [i\*] i-nnāttu Na[lī]-  
 20 lūr ūrār kaṇṇ<sup>7</sup> mērpadi i-poliūtt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuṟaiyā=ppa[ā]-  
 21 n-kāsu nūrr-arubatt-ettum pon[n-ārēy]-kāl [i\*] i-kkāsāl=ānduvarai po[lī]-  
 22 nellu nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūrru-muppatt-e[lu]-kalanēy mu-[kku]-  
 23 runi nā-nālī urī [i\*] i-nnellāl niyadippadi tiruv-amidinukku iva[r\*][ga]-  
 24 l kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana nālī neyy-amidinukku irupadi-  
 25 [nā]lī nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ppaśuvīn=naṟu-neyy oru-  
 26 pōḍaikkku ulakk-āgavum [i\*] kari tumikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaikkku ā-  
 27 lakk-āgavum [i\*] nāngu-pōḍaikkku neyy-amidu nālī urī [i\*] nālī ttai<sup>8</sup> -a  
 28 midinukku iru-nālī nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ttai<sup>8</sup>-amidu  
 29 oru-pōḍaikkku nāliy-āgavum kūttukku=ttai<sup>8</sup>-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku u-  
 30 riyy-āgavum nāngu-pōḍaikkku=ppaśuvīn=rōy-tai<sup>8</sup> aru-nālī [i\*] oru-kāsu-  
 31 kku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=padin-kala-nell-ahgam-āga [i\*] āiram<sup>9</sup>  
 32 vālai-ppalattinukku oru-kās-āgavum [i\*] elu-tulātt-arubatt-amba-  
 33 la-chcharkaraiḥ oru-kās-āgavum [i\*] irupadin-tulām kari-amidinukku  
 34 oru-kās-āgavum [i\*] arupadi-nālī kāyattinukku oru-kās-āgavum  
 35 ahgam-āga [i\*] =ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka vālai-ppa[ā]-amidu o-  
 36 ru-pōḍaikkku nāng-āga nāngu-pōḍaikkku=kkaru-vālai-ppa[ā]-amidu pa-  
 37 din-āru [i\*] śārkarai-amidu oru-pōḍaikkku oru-palam-āga nāngu-pōḍai-  
 38 kku=chcharkarai-amidu nār-palam [i\*] kari-amidu kāy-kkari onṟu pu-  
 39 lṇ garī onṟu pulukku-kkari onṟu porī-kkari onṟu ēṟṟi<sup>10</sup>=  
 40 kkari-amidu nānginukku oru-pōḍaikkku [p]adin-[palam-ā]ga<sup>11</sup> nān-

<sup>1</sup> Read *po'vūtt*<sup>o</sup><sup>4</sup> Read *ayirattu*<sup>7</sup> Read *kayyāl*<sup>2</sup> Read *āyina*<sup>5</sup> Read *kayyān*<sup>8</sup> Read *tayir*<sup>3</sup> Read *ayy-ayiratt*<sup>6</sup> Read *vaiyayum=*<sup>9</sup> Read *ayiram*<sup>10</sup> After *ēṟṟi*, the letters *kka* seem to have been engraved and erased<sup>11</sup> The phrase *padin palam āga* is a correction from *kkariy amidu*



- 41 gu-pōdaikku=kkari-amidu nārpadin-palam [\*] kāyam mīla[g-amidu]  
 42 mañjal amidu śiraka-amidu śiru-kadug-amidu kottamba[11- amidu]  
 43 ēri=kkāyam andu [\*] ivaī oru-pōdaikku mu-chchevitt-āga nā[ngu-pō]-  
 44 daikku=kkāyam ulakkē iru-śevittu<sup>1</sup> [\*] Mār[ga]lī-tTiruvādiraru<sup>2</sup> Māsi-Maka-  
 45 mum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamum pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [\*] 1-p[pa]  
 46 nīśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[dī] 1-ttēvarkkēy ambadu  
 47 kāsū dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>3</sup>=ku-  
 48 duppadu [\*] 1-nnāttu=chChāliyattu-ūrār kaun<sup>4</sup> mērpadi  
 49 poliūt-āga<sup>5</sup> vaitta nīrai-kurayā-p[pa]lan-kāsū irubattu-nī-  
 50 ngu poṇ andēy-mukkāl [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku ānduva-  
 51 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu

*First slab, Second face*

- 52 nārpatti-onbadin-kalanēy iru-kurunī nālī  
 53 urī [\*] 1-nnellāl niyadippadi [ti]ruv-amidinukku iva[r\*]ga-  
 54 lē kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*] nālī=pparuppukku nā-  
 55 '11-ulakku=ppayar-āgavum nālī=ppayarukku iru-nālī nell-āga-  
 56 'vum kummāyattinukku=ppayarru-pparuppu oru-pōdaikku u-  
 57 'riy-āga nāngu-pōdaikku=chchiru payarru-pparuppu iru-nālī [\*]  
 58\* oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi nārāyattār=padin-kala-nell-ahgam-ā-  
 59 'ga [\*] āratt<sup>6</sup> -iru-nūrr-irupadu parru verrilaikku oru-kās-ā-  
 60 'gavum [\*] pa[dī]nāratt<sup>6</sup> -oru-nūr-adaikkāy-amidinukku oru-kā<sup>4</sup> āgavu-  
 61 'm ahgam-āga [\*] ilai amidu oru pōdaikku mūv-adukk-āga nūṭ-  
 62 'gu-pōdaikku vellilai-amidu mūṇṇu paṇṇu adaikkāv-a[ni]-  
 63 'adu oru pōdaikku=ppadināng-āga nāngu-pōdaikku adaikkāy-  
 64 amidu ambatt-āru [\*] nūrr-amidu vēnduvad-iḍuvadu [\*] Mā-  
 65 'rge(a)lī-tTiruvādiraru<sup>2</sup> Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamu-  
 66 'm pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [\*] 1-pparīśu śelu-  
 67 'ttādu kuttukkār[pa]dī 1-ttēva[r\*]kkēy andu kāsū  
 68 'dandamu[m] pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=iratti-  
 69 'un<sup>7</sup>=[kudup[pa]du [\*] Valudi-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam  
 70 'Varagunamangalattu=chchavaiyāk(r)-kaun<sup>4</sup> mērpadi po-  
 71 'lū[tt-āga<sup>5</sup> vai]tta nīrai-kurayā=ppalan-kāsū nūrr-oru-  
 72 padu [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku ānduvarai poli nīrai mā-  
 73 'di-nārāyattāl [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nū-  
 74 'rr-irubadin-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl niyadippadi iva[r\*]-  
 75 'gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*] nālī-neykku iru-  
 76 'padi-nālī nell-āga=ttiru-nandā-vilakku onrinukku [nī]-  
 77 'pa[dī] ney nīy-āga=ttiru-nand[ā\*]-vilakku andinukku=ppa-  
 78 'su]vin-naṇu-nev niyadī iru-nālī urī [\*] andiyampō[du]  
 79 'ti]ruv-amidu seygirru dīpa-mā[lai] katta=[p]paśuvīn=naṇu-ne-  
 80 'y niyadī ulakku [\*] 1-[ppa]rīśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[dī]-  
 81 'r[ttē]va[r]k[kē]y pannirandī arai-kkāsū dandamum pattu=chchelu-  
 82 'ttā[du] vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>3</sup>=kudupadu [\*] 1-nnāt[tu]-

<sup>1</sup> Read *sevu*

<sup>2</sup> Read *karaym*

<sup>3</sup> Read *gum*

<sup>4</sup> Read *anyum*

<sup>5</sup> Read *poliyutt-aga*

<sup>6</sup> Read *lyūttaga*

<sup>7</sup> Read *yūn*

<sup>8</sup> Read *ayrall*

<sup>9</sup> Read *hyu*

TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II)  
First slab First piece



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

20

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript page. The text is dense and fills most of the page area.

18

20

22

24

26

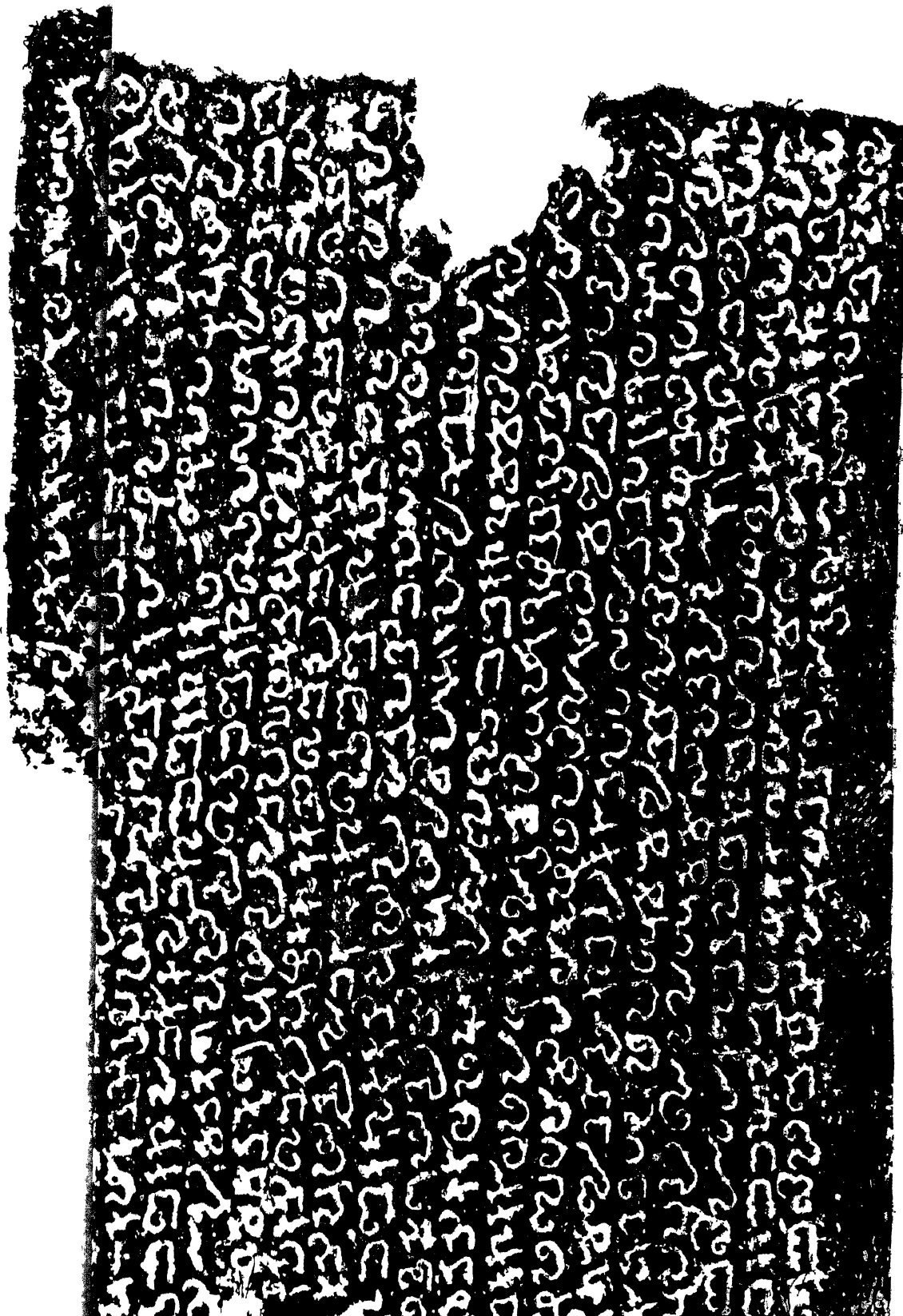
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34

TIRUCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II)  
First slab First piece



34

36

38

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42

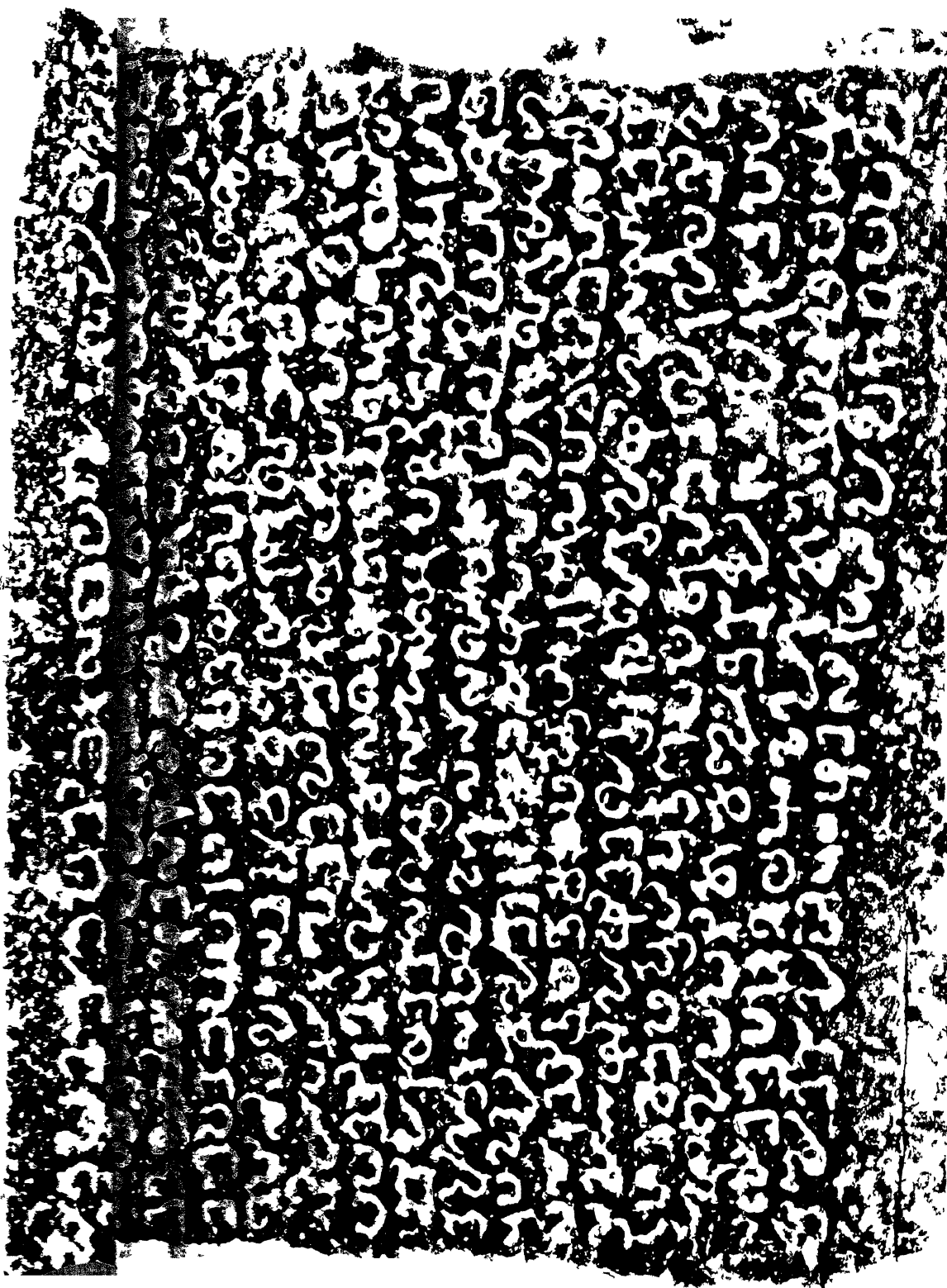
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First slab Second piece.



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82

84

86

88

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92

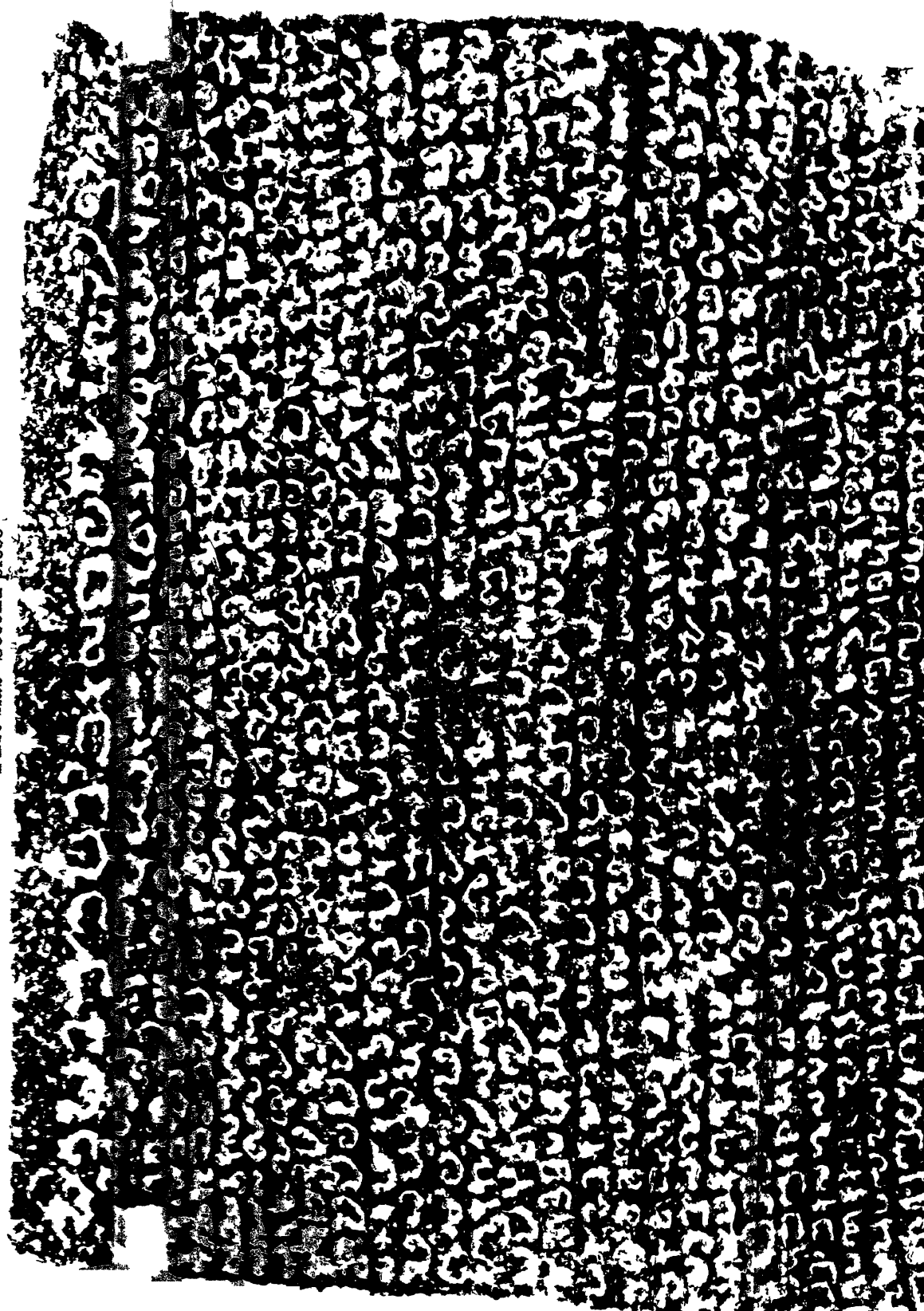
94

TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II)  
 SECOND slab First piece



96  
 98  
 100  
 102  
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 112  
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 116  
 118  
 120

First slab Second piece



110

116

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122

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126

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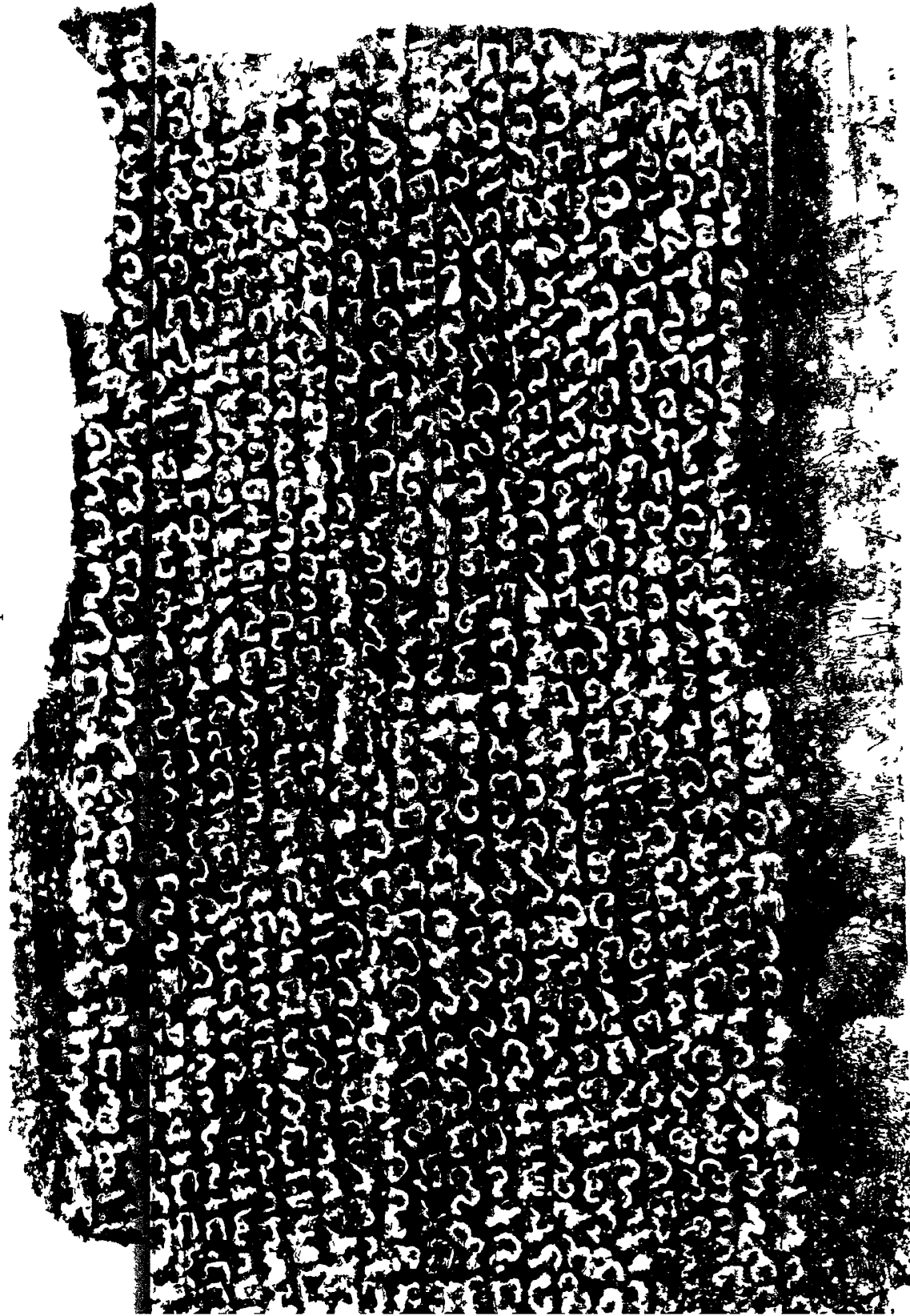
132

134

136

TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II)

SECOND slab First piece



96

134

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152



SECOND SLAB: SECOND PIECE.



154

156

158

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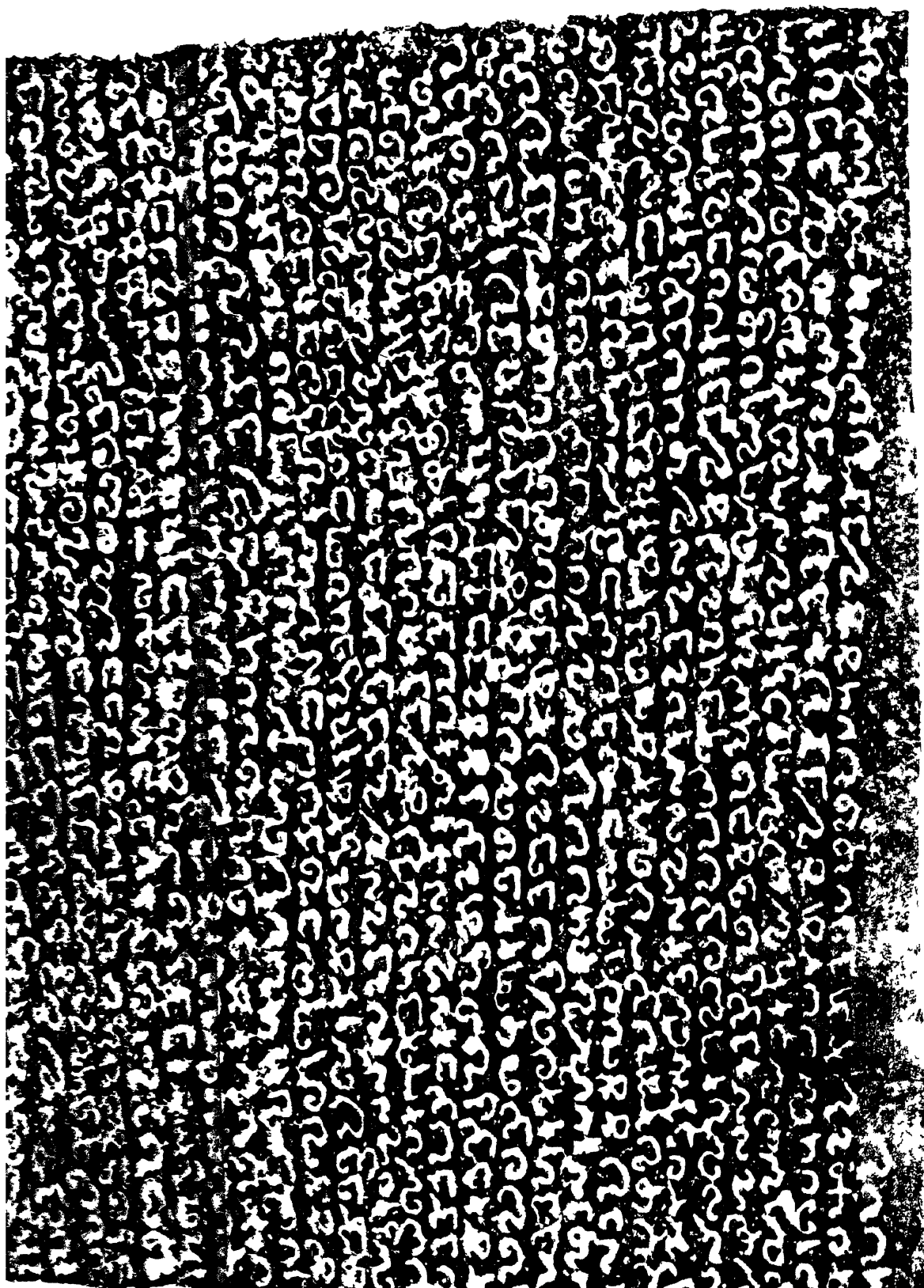
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174



SCALE THREE-ELEVENTHS

188

188

190

192

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198

200

202

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208

210



- 125 galukku nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku ven-kūrai padin-ār-anai [\*] 1  
 126 ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil 1-ttēvarkkēy irupatt-amdu  
 127 kāsū dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal-irattiun<sup>1</sup>=kuduppadu [\*]  
 128 Parāntaka-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam [Parai]śumangala[ttu=tte]n-kilakku Tī-  
 129 [nni]-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliutt-āga vaitta nīrai-kurāiyā=ppala-  
 130 n-kāsū irubatt-amdu [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru kāsukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madi nārāyattāl  
 131 rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu ambadin kalam 1-nnellā-  
 132 l iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*] nālī-arisikku mu-nnālī nel-  
 133 l-āga=tturu-ppalikku niyadī arisi sennar-rīttal oru-pōdaikku nālīy-āga 1-  
 134 randu pōdaikku arisi sennar-rīttal iru-nālī [\*] oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl  
 135 padin-kala-nell-ahgam-āga śrī madaippalli kkattu mērkattikku-ppudavai inai 1-  
 136 rand-arai-kkānam perrana oru-murai aru-tingalukku ir-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu irandu-mu-  
 raik-  
 137 ku=ppudavai nāl-anai [\*] kal-puraikku=ppudavai inai irandu kānam perrana oru-  
 murai mu-ttin-  
 138 galukku ir-anaiy āga ōr-āndu nā gu-murai[k\*]ku=ppudavai ett-anai [\*] 1 ppariśu  
 śeluttādu kut-  
 139 tukkārpādil 1 ttēvarkkēy amdu-kāsū dandamum pattu-chcheluttādu vitta muda  
 140 l=irattiun<sup>1</sup>=kuduppadu 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēya[m\*] Māramangalattu=  
 141 chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliutt-āga vaitta nīrai-kurāiyā=ppa-  
 142 lan-kāsū nūr-ambatt-irand-arai [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku ānduvarai  
 143 poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnūr-  
 144 r-an-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*]  
 145 oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl padin-kala nell-ahgam-āga [\*] śrī-tūpam  
 146 śīdāruṇukku<sup>4</sup> vēndum uru[ppu<sup>5</sup>] agul-utpada=kkarpūramun=tēnu[m] nī-  
 147 yadī arai-kkānam vilai pera iduvadu [\*] śrī-karpakkīra-agattu-kkattu mērkāt-  
 148 tikku ven-kūrai inai ēl-arai-kkānam perrana oru-murai āru-tingalukku  
 149 nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āndu irandu muraikku ven-kūrai ett-anai [\*] nālī-ttair<sup>6</sup>-amidiṇuk-  
 150 ku iru-nālī nell-āga=tturu-ppalikku=ppaśuvin=rōy-tair<sup>6</sup> niyadī nālī [\*]  
 151 tattalī kottigalukku=kkorru nellu=ttiṅgal [nā]r-kala[nē]y padin<sup>7</sup>-ku-  
 152 ruṇi nālī uniy-āga ōr-āndu pannirandu tīṅgalukku vēndum nellu nīrai-  
 153 madi-nārāyattāl ambatt-ēlu-kalam<sup>8</sup>

*Second slab, Second face*

- 154 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Tenrakku . . .  
 155 llūr-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpadi <sup>3</sup>poliutt-āga vaitta nī-  
 156 rai-kurāiyā=ppalan-kāsū arupadu [\*] 1-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku āndu-  
 157 varai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu  
 158 nūr-irupadin-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-  
 159 kkaḍavana [\*] oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl padin-kala-nell-ahgam-ā-  
 160 ga [\*] śrī-udaiy-āḍai inai mūnru-kāsū perrana oru-murai mu-ttiṅgalukku

<sup>1</sup> Read *ḡyūn*-

<sup>2</sup> Read *kaṇṇ*

<sup>3</sup> Read *poliyāṭṭi āga*

<sup>4</sup> Read *śīdāruṇukku*

<sup>5</sup> The letters in brackets look like *ṭṭu*

<sup>6</sup> Read *tair*-

<sup>7</sup> To make up the total of 57 *kalam* in this item the word *padin* ought to be *padin oru*

<sup>8</sup> There is some blank space in this line after *ēlu kalam* and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words : *ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil 1-ttēvarkkē ambadu kāsū dandamum puṭṭu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal-irattiṇṇu=kuduppadu*.

161 ōr-anaiv-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai nāl-anaḥ [\*] 1-p-  
 162 pariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādī 1-ttēvarkkēy panni-  
 163 rand-arai-kkāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=iratti-  
 164 un<sup>1</sup>=kuduppādu [||\*] Amitaguna-valanāttu=ppiramadēyam Avani-  
 165 paśēkaramangalattu=chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpādī <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta  
 166 nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu arupadu [\*] 1-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduva-  
 167 rai poli nīrai-madī-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-iru-  
 168 padīn-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kka-  
 169 davana [\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madī-nārāyattār=padīn-kala-nell-ahgam-āga śrī-  
 170 udayi-āḍai inai mūnru-kāśu perrana oru-murai mu-ttingalukku ōr-anaiv-ā-  
 171 ga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai nāl-anaḥ 1-ppariśu śeluttādu kut-  
 172 tukkārpādī 1-ttēvarkkēy panni-rand-arai-kkāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttā-  
 173 du vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppādu [||\*] Kuda-nāttu=ppiramadēyam Puluv<sup>5</sup>-  
 174 dai-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpādī <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppala-  
 175 n-kāśu nūrr-irupadu [\*] 1-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madī-nārāya-  
 176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūrru-nārpādīn-kalam 1-nne-  
 177 llāl iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana [\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madī-nārāya-  
 178 ttāl padīn-kala-nell-ahgam-āga śrī-udaiy-āḍai inai mūnru-kāśu perrana oru-  
 179 murai mu-ttingalukku ir-anaiv-āga ōr-āndu nāngu-muraikku śrī-udaiy-āḍai [e]-  
 180 tt-anaḥ [\*] 1-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādī 1-ttēvarkkēy irubat-  
 181 t andu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppa-  
 182 du [||\*] 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Kīranur-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpādī <sup>3</sup>poli-  
 183 ūtt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kāśu iru-nūrr-ōrubattu-nāngu [\*] 1-  
 184 kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madī-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-  
 185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūrr-irubatt-en-kalam 1-nnellāl iva[r\*]gal niyadī-  
 186 ppādī kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana nāḷi-nevkkū irupādī-nāḷi-nell-āga  
 187 tirumañjanam āḍi-arula=ppaśuvīn=naru ney niyadī nā-nāḷi [\*] oru-kāśukku  
 188 nīrai-madī-nārāyattār=padīn-kala-nell-ahgam-āga=ttulā-chchandanattu-  
 189 kku oru-kāś-āga=ttirumēni pūśum sandana-kkuḷambu-chchandanam niyadī  
 190 mu-ppalam [\*] 1-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādī 1-ttēvarkkē-  
 191 y ambadu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=i-  
 192 rattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppādu [||\*] 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Śadangavikkurich-  
 193 chi-chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpādī <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalan-kā  
 194 śu tonnūru [\*] 1-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-madī-nārāyattāl  
 195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūrr-enbadīn-kalam [\*] 1-nnellāl niyadīp-  
 196 padī iva[r\*]gal kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavādu [\*] oru-kāśukku nīrai-madī-nā[rāi]-  
 197 yattār=padīn-kala-nell-ahgam-āga=ppadīn-ai-n-kalañju karpūrattukku o[ru]-  
 198 kāś-āga=ttirumēni-pūśun=tiruchchandanattōdu kūtti arakkum karpū-  
 199 ram niyadī ēl-arai-kkānam [\*] 1-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādī  
 200 1-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-andu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vit-  
 201 ta mudal=irattiun<sup>4</sup>=kuduppādu [||\*] 1-nnāttu=ppiramadēyam Kadungōman-  
 202 galattu=chchavaiyār kaun<sup>2</sup> mērpādī <sup>3</sup>poliūt-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=  
 203 ppalan-kāśu padīn-āru [\*] 1-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku ānduvarai poli nīrai-ma-  
 204 dī-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [\*] 1-nne-  
 205 llāl iva[r\*]gal niyadīppādī kondu-vandu śelutta-kkadavana ōr-ilanīrukku

<sup>1</sup> Read yun=.

<sup>2</sup> Read kaun=

<sup>3</sup> Read poliūt-āga

<sup>4</sup> Read irattiun=

<sup>5</sup> Read Puluv=

No	No of lines	Division	Name of village	The body of persons with whom money was invested	AMOUNT INVESTED	
					Kāṣu	Pon
1	8—19	Kuda nāḍu . . .	Korakai .	Ūrār .	96	8
2	19—48	Do . . .	Nallūr .	Do	168	6½
3	48—69	Do . . .	Śāhyam . . .	Do.	24	5½
4	69—82	Valudī valanāḍu .	Varagunamangalam	Sabhai	110	0
5	82—95	Do . . .	Iranavālmangalam included in Triyambakamangalam	Do	32	0
6	96—104	Do . . .	Ālambattam included in Gangamangalam	Ūrār	16	0
7	104—114	Do. . .	Mānavirapattinam	Nagarattār	120	0
8	114—127	Śrīvāllabha valanāḍu	Kaṭṭāramangalam	Sabhai	94	5
9	128—140	Parāntaka-valanāḍu .	Tinnī included in Paraiśu mangalam	Do .	25	0
10	140—153	Do. . .	Māramangalam	Do	152½	.
11	154—164	Do. . .	Tenṇakka llūr	Do.	60	0
12	164—173	Amitaguna-valanāḍu	Avanipaśēkaramangalam	Do	60	0
13	173—182	Kuda-nāḍu	Puliyidai	Do	120	0
14	182—192	Do . . .	Kiranūr	Do	214	0
15	192—201	Do . . .	Śaḍangavikuricholī	Do	90	0
16	201—210	Do . . .	Kadungōmangalam .	Do. .	16	0

INTEREST					Object for which the interest was utilised	Fine in case of default
Rate per <i>kāsu</i>	AMOUNT					
	<i>Kalam</i>	<i>kurun</i>	<i>nāl</i>	<i>uri</i>		
2 <i>kalam</i>	193	9			For supplying daily 16 <i>nāl</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāl</i> for 3 days in the year	25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 <i>nāl</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee 6 <i>nāl</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>ulakku</i> and 2 <i>śevdu</i> of <i>kayam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days	50 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	49	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāl</i> of <i>payarru paru ppu</i> for <i>kummīyam</i> , 3 <i>parru</i> of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days	5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	220				For supplying daily 2 <i>nāl</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>ulakku</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps	12½ <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	64				For supplying daily 4 <i>nāl</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāl</i> of curd	5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do	32				For supplying daily 8 tender cocoanuts	Do
Do	240				For supplying daily 10 <i>nāl</i> of flowers	25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	189				For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>pori</i> and 3 <i>ulakku</i> of <i>mañ jal</i> and 16 <i>anas</i> of white cloth for the year	Do
Do	50				For supplying daily 2 <i>nāl</i> of rice for <i>bāl</i> , and for four <i>anas</i> of <i>puḍavar</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kānam</i> for 1 <i>anas</i> and 8 <i>anas</i> of <i>puḍavar</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kānam</i> for 1 <i>anas</i> to 1 the year	5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	305				For noense at 1½ <i>kānam</i> , for 8 <i>anas</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kānam</i> each <i>anas</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāl</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kalam</i> 10 <i>kurun</i> 1 <i>nāl</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>kalam</i> per year	Omitted
Do	120				For supplying during the year 4 <i>anas</i> of <i>uḍar āḍar</i> at 3 <i>kāsu</i> per <i>anas</i>	12½ <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do	120				Ditto	Do
Do	240				For supplying 8 <i>anas</i> of <i>uḍar-āḍar</i> at 3 <i>kāsu</i> per <i>anas</i>	25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do	428				For supplying daily 4 <i>nāl</i> of ghee for an ointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>tu lām</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāsu</i>	50 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	180				For supplying daily 7½ <i>kānam</i> of <i>karpūram</i> (1 <i>kāsu</i> per <i>tu lām</i> 5 <i>kalanju</i> )	25 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default
Do	32				To supply daily 8 tender cocoanuts at 1 <i>nāl</i> of paddy for 1 cocoanut	5 <i>kāsu</i> and double the quantity at default

206 nāḥi-nell-āga=ttirumañjanam ādi-arula ilanīr valuvai utpada niva-  
 207 di iru nāḥunukku<sup>1</sup> nāḥi-ilanīrukku nāl-ilanīr-āga niyadī idum ila-  
 208 nīr ettu [i\*] i-pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkārpādil i-ttēvark-  
 209 kēy amdu-kāśu dandamum pattu=chcheluttādu vitta mudal=irattun<sup>2</sup>=ku-  
 210 duppadu [i\*]

No 18 —THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF SILADITYA I, G E 292

BY THE LATE MR R D BANERJI, M A

These **two copper plates** were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8¾" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper **seal** which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "*Śrī-Bhatakkah*" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll 13-19) is very thin. It is written in **Sanskrit** and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The **alphabet** belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A D. As regards **orthography**, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer, *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa*[m\*]*śakta* (l 5), *sāmānya*[m\*] (l 28), *atīśayāna*[h\*] (l 6), *-kāryya-phala*[h\*] (l 7), etc. *n* is used for *anusvāra* in *vanśa*- (ll 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l 14) and *anyāns=cha* (l 18), *n* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranat*<sup>o</sup> (l 4). In addition to the usual *danda* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, cf l 29 after *Vyāsēna* and l 33 after *Vatrabhattinā*. The *upadhmānīya* occurs thrice, in ll 10, 19 and 23, and the *ṛiḥvāmūṭīya* only once, in l 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga*- (l 5), *-sthavryya-dhaurryya-gāmbhīryya* (l 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Śilāditya I**, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhī this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhatārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at **Dēvisaras** on the **14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292<sup>s</sup> G E** (circa 610-11 A D), and was written

<sup>1</sup> Read *naḥi nūku*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vattiyun*.

<sup>3</sup> [The late Mr Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1337 (above, Vol. XX, App p 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhī grant dated 304 G E issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dūtaka* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]



by the *Sandhvinagrahādāhṛita* (minister of peace and war) *Dvirapati* Vatrabhaṭṭi<sup>1</sup> The *Dūtaka* was Kharagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvarṭtas* of land in the village of Bhadrēniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun god established in that village Out of these two hundred *pādāvarṭtas*, one hundred lav to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmana Prabhandata to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmana named) Rudra, to the north of the *dandaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baratikā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vātaka Of the remaining hundred *pādāvarṭtas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece<sup>2</sup> of land (*lava*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhāikshaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz, bath (*snāpana*) sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālyā*) lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādyā gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-satra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭita pratīksamkāra*) I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz, *Dēvīśaras* (l 1), *Bhadrēniyaka* (l 19-20, 22), *Bāra-Vanasthali*<sup>3</sup> (l 22), *Baratikā-dandaka*<sup>4</sup> (l 23) and *Gōpparavātaka* (l 23)

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>6</sup> svastī [\*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Dē[vī]sarō vāsakāt prasabha-pranat  
āmītrānā[m\*] Maṭrakānām=atula-bala-sampanna-mandala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 sakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān ārjjav-ōpārjūt-ānurāgād=anu-  
rakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēnī-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śriyah parama-māhēśvara-śrī Bhata(tā)rkkād=avyavachchhūna-rāja-vanśān=mītā-  
pitri-charan-āravinda-pranati-pravīdhaut-āsēsha-kalmashah
- 4 śē(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khadga-dvītiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghatā-sphōtana  
prakāśita-satva-nikashas=tat-pratāva<sup>7</sup>-prana(na)t ārāti-chūda(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhā-sa[m\*]sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-samhatī=sakala-smṛitō(ti)-pranīta-mārgga-  
samyak-paripālana-prajā hṛidaya-rañjan ānva[r\*]ttha-rāja-śabdah
- 6 rūpa-kānti-sthairyā-dhairyā-gāmbhīryā-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis=Smara-śāsānk-Ādrirāj-  
ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśān-atīśayāna[h\*] śaran-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

<sup>1</sup> [This Vatrabhaṭṭi has also been called Vāsabhāṭṭi (No 1341 of List) and Vāsabhata (No 1349) The readings Vatpabhaṭṭi (No 1337, i e, the present grant), Chandrabhaṭṭi (No 1338) and Chatrabhaṭṭi (No 1345) are misreadings The members of the family to which Vatrabhaṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maṭraka dynasty for four generations, viz, Skandabhaṭṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhaṭṭi), Vatrabhaṭṭi, his son Skandabhaṭṭa and the latter's son Anahila —Ed ]

<sup>2</sup> [If the two dots after *lavam* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhāikshaka* land together consisted of 100 *padavarṭtas* —Ed ]

<sup>3</sup> [This though not so specified must have been the *maṇḍala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (?) Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period —Ed ]

<sup>4</sup> [The boundary of Barātaka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrānaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānk grants of G E 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality —Ed ]

<sup>5</sup> The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>7</sup> Read *prabhava*



- 28 ny=aiśvaryyāny=asthīram mānushyam sāmānya[m\*] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-  
gachchhadbhīr=avam=asmad-dāy=ōnumantyavyāh(vyah) paripālayi-  
29 tavyaś=ch=ēty=uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna |<sup>1</sup> Bahubhīr=vvasudhā  
bhuktā rājabhīr=Sagar-ādibhīh [\*] yasva yasya yadā  
30 bhūmis=tā(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrarai=  
ddhanāni dharmm-āyatani(nī)-mri(kri)tāni (l\*) nīrbhū(bhu)kta-mālya-  
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhu punar=ādādita || Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē  
mōdati bhūmidah [\*] āchchhētā ch=ā-  
32 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti ||<sup>2</sup> Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahah  
likhitam sandhivigrahādhirri(kri)ta-Divirapata-  
33 Vatrabhattinā |<sup>1</sup> Sam 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [\*] Sva-hastō mama ||

No 19 —THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA ŚAKA 1440

BY V VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B A, MADRAS

This inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāndyan-mandapa' in the Mangalnāthēśvara temple at **Pirānmalai** in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil prose and the **alphabet** is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few **orthographical** peculiarities such as the use of *shcha* in place of (i) *ksha* (1 3) and of (ii) *sha* (1 1), of *la* for *la* (1 9) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (11 5, 10, 12 and 13) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation —

**Kadamai** (1 11) This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession, of the taxes *Sekku-kadamai*, *Tōnik-kadamai*, *Tarik-kadamai*, etc.

**Kānikkar** (1 12) This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānika* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Padar-kānikkar* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kānikkar-pattipon* and *Nāttuk-kānikkar*.

**Vēndukōl** (1 12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

**Vinnyōgam** occurring in 1 12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose', of the terms *Nāttu-vinnyōgam*, *Sabhā-vinnyōgam*, *Ōlar-eduppu-vinnyōgam* and *Vāsai-vinnyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler **Krishna-dēva-Mahārāya**, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details<sup>4</sup> of date given in it viz, Mithuna, ba amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vriddhi yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A D, as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village **Mēlūr** in Śōlā-pāndya-vaṇanādu, by **Ponṇambalanātha-Tondaimān**, the chief (*arasi*) of **Arantāngi**, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamangaibāgar at **Tirukkodunkunram**, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot

<sup>2</sup> Read *vasēti* [||\*] *iti* ||

<sup>3</sup> No 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923 24, p 59, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Saumya, but it can be read as Vegudhānya (or Babudhānya) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Ponnambalanātha Tondaimān, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vānakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Sētopatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāṅgi-araśu' and 'Tondaimān'. The latter title<sup>1</sup> which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Tondai' or 'Tondaimandalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāñchi puram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title *Tondaimān* seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karunākara-Tondaimān of Vanduvāñjērī (i.e., modern Vandai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kalṅgattuṭṭupparan*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Tondaimān' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōttai State not far from the Arantāṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāṅgi Tondaimān chiefs. A Tondaimān chief by name Valattu-vālvitta-Perumāḷ<sup>2</sup> claiming to belong to Vēsiṅga-nādu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōttai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara<sup>3</sup> also mentions this chief and another<sup>4</sup> makes provision for the 'Valattu-vālvittāṇḍi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōvai* the hero is a certain Karumānikkan, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōttai<sup>5</sup>. He is there styled a Tondaimān and described as a minister and a general of Jātāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr<sup>6</sup> in the Cuddapah district mentions

<sup>1</sup> In *Sen Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Tondaimān in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rajendra-Chōla I, i.e., A.D. 1016 on the Nārttāmalaḥ hill (vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōttai State' by Radhakrishner, p. 113). There is also a reference to Tondaimān in the *Mahavamsā* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulaśēkhara on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tondaimāna, that Kulaśēkhara then attacked the Singhalese forces at Pon-Amarāvati (a village in the south west of the Pudukkōttai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Tondaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulaśēkhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttāmalaḥ hill in the Pudukkōttai State.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *A General History of the Pudukkōttai State*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> No. 355 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 488 of 1918 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> *Sen Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318ff.

<sup>6</sup> No. 594 of 1907.

Tondamānār *alias* Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār who was a minister of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A D 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tondamānār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karumānikkan mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tondamāns were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A D none of them assumed the title 'Arantāṅgi-arasu' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A D.

Besides being the Tondamāns or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Ettiyattal<sup>1</sup> in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēlp-perumāl Tondamānār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virōdhi and mentions the signatory Nīrambavalagi ān-Kālingarāyan who figures in another epigraph<sup>2</sup> in the same place dated in Śaka 1364<sup>3</sup> (=A D 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A D, 1469. About this time Jatāvarman Arīkēsarilēva *alias* Pārākrama-Pāṇḍya (A D 1420-1463) and his brother Kulasēkharadēva (A D 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record<sup>4</sup>. Ēkapperumāl, the father of Ponnambalanātha-Tondamān, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tondamān-śandi' after his name. Among the titles of Ponnambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara* 'the lord of Kāñchī, the best of cities' and *Ēlu-nālayil Yīlam-tirai-konda-perumāl* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara* assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord<sup>5</sup>. Ponnambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāl Āvudaiya Tambirānār<sup>6</sup>. He was in power for over half a century (*circa* 1514-1569 A D) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya at least between Śaka 1436<sup>7</sup> and 1452<sup>8</sup>. His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkottai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirānmalai in the Ramnad district.

<sup>1</sup> No 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>2</sup> No 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

<sup>3</sup> In an earlier record (No 299 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvarangulam, dated in Śaka 1305, Rudhūrōdgārī, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, *viz.*, Alagiyamanavālap Perumāl Tondamān, Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya Tondamān and Mennūr Perumāl Kulasēkhara Tondamān are mentioned. The Śaka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Śaka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

<sup>4</sup> See also Nos 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>5</sup> No 146 of 1903 from Pirānmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnadēvarāya. It is dated in Śaka 1440 and also mentions the chief Ponnambalanātha Tondamān. It is known that the predecessors of Krishnadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (*i.e.*, seven days) within which Ponnambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Krishnadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Krishnadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

<sup>6</sup> Āvudaiya Tambirānār is the name of the god at Āvudaiyārkōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Maṇikkavāchaka.

<sup>7</sup> No 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>8</sup> No 240 of 1930 of the same collection.

Ponnambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāṅgi principality by Āndivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān<sup>1</sup> son of Tyāgarasar Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *achchamarayādān* and *alavilāṅṇādān* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (=A D 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponnambalanātha, viz, A D 1569

The line of Arantāṅgi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālavavanam in the Pudukkottai State<sup>2</sup>

The chiefs of Arantāṅgi so far known from epigraphical sources are —

- 1 Kulaśekhara-Tondaimān<sup>3</sup> (1426 and 1443 A D),
- 2 Sūryadēvar Sundaṛapāndya-Tondaimān (1443 A D),
- 3 Malavallapperumāl-Tondaimān,
- 4 Alagiya Manavālappermāl-Tondaimān (1443 and 1453 A D), his son
- 5 Lakkanadannāyaka-Tondaimān or Lakkappadannāyaka-Tondaimān (1453 A D),
- 6 Tirunelvēlpperumāl (1469 A D),
- 7 Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimān (1481 and 1499 A D), his three sons
- 8 Tirāvimaitīrttān-Tondaimān (1497 A D),
- 9 Āvudaiya-Nāyinār-Tondaimān (1499 A D) and
- 10 Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimān (1514-1569 A D), his son
- 11 Varavinōda Tondaimān (1536 A D),
- 12 Āndivappa Achyutanāyaka-Tondaimān, son of Tyāgarasar-Narasānāyaka (1577 A D) and
- 13 Arunāchala Vanangāmudi-Tondaimān, son of Raghunātha Vanangāmudi-Tondaimān<sup>4</sup> (1713 A D)

Of the places mentioned in the record *Mēlūr* is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madura. *Tirukkodunkunṇam* (i.e., Pīrānmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nādu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Śivaganga taluk. The territorial name *Śōlapāndya-valanādu* is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōla viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Śōla-Pāṇḍyas

#### TEXT

- 1 [Svasti] [[\*] Śrīman-ma[gā]maṇḍaliśuran [ariyarāya]-vibhādan \*bāshchaikkut-tappuva-rāyira-gandan kanda-nādu-koṇḍu konda-nādu-kuḍādān pūrva-
- 2 deshana-<sup>5</sup>pachchuma-uttara-samuddirādhi[pat] emma[ndalamum koṇḍu e]jundaru-hya sri-[Krishnadē[va]-Mah[ā]rāyar prithivī-rāchchiyam panṇi-arulānṇa
- 3 śakābdam 1440 idanmēl Vegu[dhā]nya-[varusha']m uttarāyanattu Mithuna-nāyayaru apara-pashchattu<sup>6</sup> [a]māvāsivaiyum Mangalavāramum Viruddi-
- 4 yōgamum perṭa irrai-nā<sup>7</sup> Sūriya girana-punniya-kālattu Tirumalai-nāttut- **Tiruk-**  
**koḍunkunṇattu**<sup>10</sup> Nayinār Nallamangaibāgarku Ara[n]tāṅgi-araśu achchamar-

<sup>1</sup> No 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōda Tondaimān, the son of Ponnambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāṅgi.

<sup>2</sup> *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84

<sup>3</sup> From Nos 299 of 1914 and 238 of 1930, Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers

<sup>4</sup> Known only from a copper plate record. Vide *Sen Tāmī*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Read *bāshcha*

<sup>6</sup> Read *dakshina*

<sup>7</sup> The word *varusham* is expressed by a symbol

<sup>8</sup> Read *apara-pashchattu*

<sup>9</sup> The *nakshatra* is not given.

<sup>10</sup> Tirukkodunkunṇam is also known as Dakshina-Kallāsam in Nos 193 and 213 of 1924

- 5 [yāda]-perumāl <sup>1</sup>alavilāñjāda-perumāl mugilm-kil-ttiriyum-Īla-Vannivar-misura-gandan-  
āttukku-ānai-valangum perumāl ēlu-nālayil Yilan-tīraikonda perumā-
- 6 l kōn pāda [yāda]-perumāl Kāñchipuravar ādhisuran<sup>3</sup> Āvudaiya-Tambarānār-  
śrīpāda-bhaktan Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimānār puttiran
- 7 Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār Navinār Nallamangaibāgarku [u]bhāiyamāga kat-  
tina ōiru-kālach-chandikku amudupadī [sāttu]ppadī ulittu
- 8 vēndum nittam-nima[ndan]galukku nam [pērā] kattina Ponnambalanātha-Tondai-  
mānār-śandiyāga amuduseyyum-padikku ku-
- 9 dutta [yī]-nnayinār dēvadāna <sup>4</sup>nāmattukkāniy-āga Śōla-Pāndiya-vaḷanāttu  
Mēlūr peru-nāng-ellaikk=ul[patta]-
- 10 dum sa-hirany-ō[da]ka dhārā-pūrvam-āga tī[runāmat]tukkām-āga chandr ādityavar  
śellak-kuduttapadiālē idukkul ulpatta<sup>5</sup>
- 11 nūdhī-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāna-kūpa-[ta]tākādiyum Tambirānārkē urittāga kadavad=  
āgavum ivv-ūrku varum kadamai kē-
- 12 nūkkai vēndukōl vinīyōgam marrum erpērpatta<sup>6</sup> varī ubā(pā)dhīyum kaḷittuk-ku-  
duttapadiālē chandr-ādityava-
- 13 īsellā sarvamānnyam-āga tirunāmattukkāni-āga<sup>7</sup> anubhavittuk-kollavum kaḷilum  
śembilum vettikko-
- 14 ōdu tirunāmattukkāni-āga chandr-ādityavarśellā anubhavittuk-kollavum inda  
danmattukku agitam pannī-
- 15 navan Gamgaikkaraiyil kapilāiyum brāhmananaiyum mātā-pitāvaiyum guru-  
vaiyum konṛa [dō]shattilē pō
- 16 gaḷkadavān-āgavum<sup>8</sup> inda nērilē sarvamānnyam-āgapparī anubhavittuk-kollavum  
Aran-
- 17 tāngi-kanakku Adivā[r\*]kkunallān Karpūrak-Kāñgarāyan<sup>9</sup> eḷuttu [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> The title 'alavilāñjādan' is not newly borne by this chief (*Vide* Nos 208 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection)

<sup>2</sup> With the title *Vanniyar misura gandan* compare the titles *Vanniyar aṭṭan-tavittan* and *Śorimuttu Vanniyar* assumed by the Sētupatī Chiefs (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp 73 and 79 and *Tayancoor Archaeological Series*, Vol V, p 13, foot note 7) Local tradition confirmed by one of the MacKenzie Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vanniya caste, who were ruling at Tiruvīdaichchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishnādēvarāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Dēvarāya II gives him the title 'the lord who took the heads of the 18 Vanniyas' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No 11, p 150) The Vanniyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Dēvarāya, Ponnambalanātha Tondaimānār and the Setupatīs of Ramnad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vanniyas.

<sup>3</sup> The title *Kāñchipuravaradhīśvara* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Conjeeveram'. The chiefs Pullaganda Siddarāśar (*A R* 1922, para 144) and Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpālā Madhusūdanadeva (*A R on S I Epigraphy* 1923, para 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this *viruda* borne by Krishnappanāyaka (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 330), indicates that the original home of the Madura Nāyakas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (acc 1251 A D) (*S I I*, Vol V, No 433), this *viruda* was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchipura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominion.

<sup>4</sup> The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *kekut* and *m tiru*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *idukkulpatta*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *erpērpatta*.

<sup>7</sup> This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

<sup>8</sup> There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *inda dharmam* or *inda gramam*.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'Kāñgarāyan'.

## TRANSLATION

Hail ! While the illustrious *Mahāmandalēśvara* **Kṛṣṇadēva-Mahārāya**, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their word, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the Śaka year 1440 expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttaiāvana, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amivāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Viḍḍhi-yōga,—on this day, I, **Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār**, the son of Ēkapperumāl-Tondaimānār, the chief of Arantāngi, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed<sup>1</sup> who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from Īlam (Ceylon) within seven days, . . . , who was the lord of Kāñchī, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god Āvudaiya-Tambirānār—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of Mēlūr in Śōlapāndya-valanādu as *tirunāmatukkāṇ* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) Nayinār Nallamangaibāgar at Tirukkoḍunkuniam in Tirumalai-nāḍu for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the Ponnambalanātha-Tondaimānār śandi (service) in the early morning to the god Navinār Nallamangaibāgar, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land) its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the Tambirānār (god) And as the taxes including *kadamar*, *kānikkar*, *vēndukōl*, *vaiyōgam* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tirunāmatukkāṇ* (temple land) and a *sarvamānya* freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tirunāmatukkāṇ*, as long as the moon and the sun last

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmana, (his own parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *sarvamānya* This is the writing of Adiyā[r\*]kkunallān Kaṭṭipūrak-Kāṅgarāyan, the accountant of Arantāngi

## No 20 —NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G E [1]98)

By K. N. DIXSHIT, M A, CALCUTTA

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nagod State It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted

The plate measures  $5\frac{1}{8}$ " in length and  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " to  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the Majhgawām<sup>2</sup> copper-plate of the same prince The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the Majhgawām plates of Hastin Attention may also be drawn to the form of *n* without the

<sup>1</sup> The term *mugiln-kīl tiriyum Īla Vanniya mēśura gandan* is left untranslated The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vanniyas of Ceylon' If 'mugiln' could be taken as a proper name like Mugalan, the phrase may be construed as "the proud conqueror of the Vanniyas of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of Mugalan"

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *C I I.*, Vol. III, pp 106 ff.



loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Dēvādhyā*, l 2 and *Yajñādhyā*, l 10, which are not found in other records of this king

As regards **orthography**, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pravarddha*<sup>2</sup>, l 2, *pūrvāyām*, l 3 and *°bhuvvā* l 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara*, l 3 are noteworthy. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (?) called Navagrāma<sup>1</sup> in the *rāshṭra* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *nripati*-Parivrājakas), by the Mahārāja **Hastin** in the **year ninety-eight (increased by hundred)**. The donees were several Brāhmanas<sup>2</sup> of the Parāśara-gōtra and Mīdhāndina śālkhā (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Samkshōbha issued the Betul grant<sup>3</sup> in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate,<sup>4</sup> he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. **The known dates of Hastin** (156, 163, 191 and 198) **and Samkshōbha** (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-nripa-rājya bhuktāu* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.<sup>5</sup> Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara*, which was current during the period (179-198 G E), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A D<sup>6</sup> and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247 = 438 A D to 508 A D). Dr D R Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view<sup>7</sup> originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Āshādha* in the year 191 of the Sōhāwal<sup>8</sup> plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvana* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillar's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*<sup>9</sup> followed in this locality, or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvana*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul<sup>10</sup> plates of Samkshōbha. It is thus clear that the *dur-Āshādha* of the Sōhāwal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvana*, which commenced

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

<sup>2</sup> The number of donees would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmanas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VIII, pp 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet *C I I*, Vol III, pp 43 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp 110 l.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 105 of Introduction.

<sup>7</sup> Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No 1196, p 159, n 5.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol XIX, pp 129 ff.

<sup>9</sup> According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 510—11 A D was Āsvina (Sewell, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p 368).

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol VIII, pp 288 ff.

on 8th June as a *pūrṇimānta* month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhāwal plates must thus be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A D

The mention of the Mahāśvayuja *samvatsara* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G E commenced on 9th March, 517 A D and the Mahāśvayuja *samvatsara* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A D and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may there fore be supplied as **Chaitra** (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or **Vaisākha**. The date of the Betul plates of Samkshōbha, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A D is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to **Pulinda-rāja-rāshtra** in the present inscription indicates that the domain of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *nripati*-Parivrājaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, along with the Śābaras, with whom they have been always<sup>1</sup> associated and sometimes confounded.<sup>2</sup>

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

#### TEXT

- 1 Namō Mahādēvāya || Svasty=**ashtanayaty-u**[\***ttarē=bdā=śatē** Gupta-nripa-rāja bhuktau śrī-]
- 2 matī pravarddhamānē Mah-Āśvayuja-samba(va)tsarē [\* māsa paksha ]
- 3 m=asyām samba(va)tsara-māsa-dīvasa-pūrvvāyām n[\*ripati-parivrājaka kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-]
- 4 Dēvādhyā-pranaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Prabhamjana-[\*naptrā Mahārāja-Śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sa-]
- 5 -hasra-hasty-aśva-hirany-ānēka-bhūmi-pradē[na] [\*guru-pitrī-mātrī-pūjā-tatparēn=ātyanta-dēva-]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktēn=ānēka-samara-śata-vīja[\*yina sva-vamś-āmōda-karēna Mahārāja-śrī-]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshtrē Navagrāmakā(kō ?)[\*nāma grāmah pūrvv-āghāta-parichchhēda-maryādayā sōdra-]
- 8 ngah sōpankarō=chāta-phata-prāvēsyō [\*mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ābhivarddhave]
- 9 Parāsara-sagotrēbhyō Mādhyandina-Vā[\*jasanēya-sabrahmachārībhyō=mībhyō]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhatta-Yajñādhyasvāmī-tat-putra-Bha[\*tta . . Brāhmaṇa ]
- 11 nasvāmī-tat-putra-Gōpayajñasvāmī-[\*Brāhmaṇa . yajñasvāmī tat-putra-]
- 12 Bhatta-Śambhuyajñasvāmī-Bhatt-Ēśāna-Ya[\*jña-svāmībhyō putra-pautr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyah]
- 13 tāmra-śāsanēn=āgrā(a)hārō=tisrishta[\*h chaura-varjyam | tad=asmat-kul-ōtthair=mat-pāda-pind-ō-]
- 14 pajivibhur=vva kāl-āntarēshv=apī na [\*vyāghātaḥ karaṇiyah | ēvam=ājñaptē yō ]

<sup>1</sup> Varāhamihira, IX 29 Majumdar, *McCrindle's Ancient India*, pp 156 7, 160

<sup>2</sup> *Kathāsartīsagara* (vide Cunningham, *A S R*, Vol XVII p 130)





## No 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR

BY PROF V V. MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

## A —The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Singhana—Śaka 1133

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva<sup>1</sup> called Ambikēśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Ambadāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1 7" to 9". The **characters** are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *amkatō=pi* in ll 1-2 and *Ambadāpurē* in ll 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhāndēva* in l 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēunāyaka* in l 5. The medial *ē* is shown in some places by a *prishthamātrā* (cf *Bhāndēva* in l 7). The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography** we may note that the letter 't' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz, *chakravartti* in l 4 and *kīrttanē* in l 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was **Prajāpati**, Dēunāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Ambadāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpa-chakravartti **Simghanadēva**. In that year a person named Mamgala, the son of Bhāndēva, built a *tōṛana* (<sup>2</sup>) in the temple (*kīrttana*) constructed by Padumana(Pradyumna)sēthī who was a resident of Ambadāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details, but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A D] was **Prajāpati** as stated in the inscription. Singhanadēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravartti in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagiri in the first half of the 13th century A D.<sup>3</sup> There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz, 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Singhana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri found in Berār. It is likely that Singhana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz, 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnātak, which is alluded to in the Dōni inscription.<sup>4</sup> Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārdi stone inscription,<sup>5</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berārs or the country round Ambadāpura where we find the present inscription.

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||\*] Śākē amka-
- 2 tō=pi<sup>6</sup> 1133 Prajāpati samva-
- 3 tsarē svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartti-śrī-Simghanadēva-vijaya-rājyē

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is not at the temple of Bhawanī as stated by R. B. Hirralal in his *List of inscriptions in C P and Berar* (Second Edn.), p 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part II, p 522.

<sup>3</sup> No 79 of the Bombay Karnātak collection for 1927-8.

<sup>4</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p 48.

<sup>5</sup> This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

- 5 Dēunāyaka bhōktā[rē<sup>1</sup>] Ambadā-  
 6 purē<sup>2</sup> vāstavyē Padumanasēthi-  
 7 kratē<sup>3</sup> kirttanē Bhāndēva-putra-Mamgala-  
 8 mrishe<sup>(?)</sup> [tō]ranam i(d\*)am<sup>(?)</sup> — — tā — —<sup>4</sup>

**B —The Bārsī-Takli Inscription of the reign of Hēmādrīdēva—Śaka 1098**

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavānī in the village of Bārsī Takli, twelve miles south-east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1902. "It (i.e., the temple) consists of a shrine and a *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Ganapati, are the females Mahākālī and Mahishāsurasuramardinī, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 1 at Balsane in Khandesh."

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the *mandapa* facing the entrance. As in the case of the Rāmtēk Lakshmana Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3' 3" broad by 11" high. The average size of letters is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The **characters** are Nāgarī. The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory *Om Svasti* and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines, but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double *dandas* are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The **orthography** calls for few remarks, *s* is occasionally employed for *ś*, e.g., in *Varsākha* in l. 1, the *anusvāra* is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, e.g., *Nimlamm* in l. 3, *āparamntam* in l. 4, etc. The consonant *t* following *r* is occasionally doubled as in *kīrttan* and *varttamānō* in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an *anusvāra* in *śrīmām* in l. 8, *dāsvām* (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavānī. I found, however, no image of the deity in the *garbhagrha*. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermilion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva's bull) in the *mandapa* facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

<sup>1</sup> Read *Dēvayakē bhōktari*

<sup>2</sup> Read *kṛtā*

<sup>3</sup> Read *°pura vastavya*

<sup>4</sup> The last line is very indistinct

*mandapa* It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavānī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Vishnu). The building is referred to in l 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēśma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsuramardīnī and Ganapati noticed by Mr Cousens, images of Narasimha and other deities of the Vishnu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagrha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *mandapa*, which support the Vaishnava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavānī, when the original image of Vishnu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of **Ghatāma** who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with **Hēmādrīdēva** mentioned later on in l 6, defeated Rājāla, the son of Mālūgīdēva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital **Tēkkalī** into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary **ministers**, who belonged to the *Vālabhya-gōtra*, **Bhūllama**, his son **Pālama**, his son **Māila**, and his son **Gāmiyāya** or *Gāmayāja*, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Vishnu in this town (evidently Tēkkalī), of which the midday sun formed the *chakra* final, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that *Gāmayāja* excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (*vāpī*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vaisākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara=Śaka 1098**, the *Nakshatra* being **Pushya**, the *Yōga* **Āyushmat** and the *Karana* **Vani[ja\*]**. According to D. B. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādī Śaka 1098 expired was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hēmalamba and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that *Vaisākha Sukla Saptamī* in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha *expired*), (i.e. Hēmalamba *current*), ended at 12 ghatikās (4 h 45 m) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was Pushya which ended at 51 ghatikās (20 h 25 m) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya *Nakshatra* (an *amṛta-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karana* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was Vanija, but the *yōga* was Śūla and not Āyushmat as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking Āyushmat

*yōga* in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *nalshatra* and *karana* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular *yōga*. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted *Āyushmat* for *Śūla*, as the latter is not an auspicious *yōga*. This discrepancy in respect of *yōga* is not very important, for, as D B S K Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of *yōgas* is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research'.<sup>1</sup> The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A D**.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkalī which must be identified with modern Bārsī Tīklī in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghatāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādrīdēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādrīdēva of the Nikumbha family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chāliṣgaon region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A D)<sup>2</sup>, (2) Hēmādrī defeated by Khōlēśvara, the famous general of Bhīllama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Ambē<sup>3</sup>, and (3) Hēmādrī Pandit who was a minister of Rāmādēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāna<sup>4</sup> inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A D). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hēmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlēśvara sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Singhana who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Māluginidēva, who invaded Tēkkalī with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugin (or Mallugin) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugin, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārdī stone inscription<sup>5</sup> dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugin, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhīllama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugin was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Sankama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Sakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugin, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyānī. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādrī Pandit that Mallugin, the Yādava king, took a town named Parnakhēta from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.<sup>6</sup> The early Yādava princes were ruling in

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, p. 20

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 198

<sup>5</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 50

<sup>6</sup> Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 179



Sēunadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh, Parnakhēta must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār<sup>1</sup>. We may note again that Khōlēsvara, a general of the Yādava Singhana, defeated one Hēmādrī of Parnakhēta<sup>2</sup>. Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hēmādrī of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājula, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tēkkali with a large army, finally Kī ūlēsvara defeated Hēmādrī early in the reign of Singhana. If Hēmādrī was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhūllama, Pālama and Māla, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas<sup>3</sup>.

## TEXT

- 1 ओ<sup>4</sup> ॥ ओ स्वस्ति ओ शकः १०८८ [दुर्मुख संवत्सरे] वैशाख<sup>5</sup> मासे  
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्या गुरो दिने पुष्यनक्षत्र आयुष्म[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकरणे] .
- 2 जयति<sup>6</sup> तुलसिरक्त[\*] शकितो 'राधयाव' शरणनिहितम् [ह्रीं] विवितस्तत्रखेषु ।  
शिव इति नखरस्मि<sup>8</sup> श्वेतितैकादशात्मा हरिरविहृत[मूर्त्ति]
- 3 वा<sup>9</sup>(वा)[हृक्] दग्रभूभृद्वशो यशोभूभुवि<sup>10</sup> दतुराज. । ततस्ततः स्वप्रबलप्रतापञ्चर-  
ज्वलच्छतुरभूद्वटामः । [॥\*] <sup>11</sup>निमीलं नलिनारातिवनितावदनांबुज. । . . . प्राप्ते  
ततः । [धर्मा] रा वापा (?) .
- 4 च [॥\*] निवारितो<sup>12</sup> मंत्रिगणेन बाल[:\*] स्वयैर्भटैर्मालुगिदेवपुत्र । जिगाय  
सेनाबहुलत्वदर्पाद्वीडावयो राजलमापतन्तं<sup>13</sup> ॥ स्मार [स्मार] . . . . . याव  
श्रीकं पा
- 5 धिक्वाक्या<sup>14</sup> रणविधौ नृत्यत्कबंध्रजैः<sup>15</sup> व्यालुप्तचित्तिपालम(म)ण्डलकरादाने दया-  
भाषणे. [॥\*] कीर्त्तौ चामरवर्त्तमनो लघुतया [यो] स्वश्री[ध]रेण . . भूमि क-
- 6 [दा ?] च<sup>16</sup> नवलत्वबलैरूपैता<sup>17</sup> । (॥\*) हेमाद्रिदेवनृपते. कलितापशब्द  
नेचालि<sup>18</sup> शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनपि ॥ सोपप्लव<sup>16</sup> चिरकलकयुतं क्षया[र्त्त]

. मोदित वि मण्डलमस्य राज्ञ. (॥) तेक-<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a village called Patkhod about 4 miles to the south west of Barsi Takli, which I would identify with Parnakhēta.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p. 64. I read पश्चिंटीय in place of वाणखिटीय. [The name पश्चिंटी also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. B. Hirulal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (Second Edition)*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Metre *Malinī*.

<sup>8</sup> Read नखरस्मि<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'भुवि'.

<sup>11</sup> Metre *Upajati*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre *Saralāvarikrīḍita*.

<sup>16</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>18</sup> Read नीचालि.

<sup>5</sup> Read वैशाख.

<sup>7</sup> Read राधयाव<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Metre *Upajati*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*. Read मोक्षनलिनः<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'मापतन्तम्'.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'वज्रव्यालुन'.

<sup>17</sup> Read 'रूपता'.

<sup>19</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 7 ली राजधानी स्वा धर्मदुर्ग कली युगे । वाणारसी कृता तेन विमलैः  
सुचरित्रकैः ।[॥\*] प्राप्त<sup>1</sup> पुरा विरचितै सुकृतै कथंचिद्देहं विहाय नियता  
स्वजने समस्ताः ।[॥\*] जज्ञे<sup>2</sup> राज्ञां प्रज्ञ आ-
- 8 ज्ञाकृदेषा मंत्री मौली<sup>3</sup> लभ्यवालभ्यगोत्रः । शूर[:\*] श्रीमा<sup>4</sup> भील्लमो नाम  
तस्माज्जात. पुत्र. पालमः पुण्यकीर्तिः ॥ <sup>5</sup>तस्मादभून्माइलनामधेयस्तत च्छी ॥  
<sup>6</sup>उत्कृष्टेपि गुणे [यस्य ]ज्ञता(तां)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिशार्ङ्गेण शार्ङ्गेण ततः समुदपद्यत.<sup>7</sup> ।[॥\*] <sup>8</sup>हरिचरणसरोज-  
रक्तचित्त(त्त)क्षपितसमुद्रतपातकप्रचारः तत उदयत गामै(मि)यायदास्वा(श्वान्)  
रविरिव ण्डतसां(सं)सक्ता [मिधाविनी] दरिद्रतां<sup>9</sup> ॥ मा-
- 10 ध्यंदिने<sup>1</sup> दिनपतौ हरिवेश्मचूडाचक्रीकृते विततभल्लरितल्पदिके<sup>9</sup> । विष्णो[र्गृ]हं  
व्यतिनि<sup>10</sup> तेन पुरेय तत्र नीलातपत्रमिव यत्र नभो विभाति ॥ ..  
टारटं(?) यस्या दिन .
- 11 प्रसूता<sup>5</sup> ।[॥\*] चक्रे<sup>5</sup> स तस्यां जनजीवनार्थं(र्थ)सुखातपातालतळं(ल) तडागं ।  
साक्षात्क्षणं लक्षितशेषरूपैः(ः) पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र मुक्तिः ।[॥\*] <sup>11</sup>प्रसि-  
द्धिम[प्र] मत्र[कोष्ठनिर्वा] — — ]हर-
- 12 ति लहरिहस्तैर्वेपितासा(शा)दशापि<sup>12</sup> । हसति हसितपद्मैस्संपदं सागराणां ॥<sup>13</sup>  
जयति सुकृतमूर्त्तिं गामयाजन्तडागं ॥ <sup>14</sup>उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधांसु<sup>15</sup>[विबे] ...  
दिरादिष्ट
- 13 ... स्यामिष पीयूषधामा । प्रतिकृतिगतरूपं पुष्टये स्वस्य वापीं [प्रथित-  
सुकृतराशिं निर्मि(र्म)मे] .. ..
- 14 नामानौ<sup>16</sup> तस्य बंधू बभूवतुः । गुणखानि..... .
- 19 [<sup>16</sup>तस्य दासस्य दासोह] मम दत्त(त्तिः) प्रतिपाल्य[\*ताम्] ..... लीया

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā* Read प्राप्त

<sup>2</sup> Read मौलीऽलभ्य°

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Indravagrā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read समुदपद्यत

<sup>5</sup> Read °कल्पदिके

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Upēndravagrā*

<sup>7</sup> Metre *Mālinī* The amended reading वेपिताशा दशापि involves a wrong *sandhi* in वेपिता आशा, which should have been वेपिता आशा

<sup>8</sup> *Dasdās* unnecessary

<sup>9</sup> Read सुधांसु

<sup>2</sup> Metre *Śalinī*

<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीमान् भिल्लमो.

<sup>6</sup> Metre *Anuśṭubh*

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Pushpāgrā*

<sup>10</sup> Read व्यतिनि

<sup>14</sup> Metre *Indravagrā*.

<sup>16</sup> Metre *Anuśṭubh*

No 22 —SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT  
RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, DATED SAKA YEAR 743

PROF A S ALTEKAR, M A, D LITT, BENARES

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr Bhagwānlāl Indraṇi in his *Early History of Gujārāt* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr D R Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13 6" by 7 6". The thickness is about 0 1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side about 0 7" from the edge. The ring is about 0 4" in thickness and 3 2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1 11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuda, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The seal does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines, in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation, the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully, as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf *nēkā* l 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf *vriḍḍhayē* l 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes, thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *khā* in *khādga* in l 40 and of *ṛā* in *ṛānmānugam* in l 55, and in addition to the correction in *kā* in l 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryā* so as to change *kāryyā* into *karanīyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf *ka* of *vṛshāmka* l 27, *kā* of *mahāsamyugē* l 32, *pha* of *phalāvāpti* l 33, *ryē* in *śauryyēna* and *yā* in *sadāṇṇayā* l 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf *ārtiārti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *taikā sāsanadūtā* and *hastēna sva* at that of the third). A *kākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *shu* in *ranasarvaishu* l 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *praishya* in l 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigiyatē* l 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter, in the next letter *gī* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *gī*. As a result *or gī* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *stharh* in *sānustharh* l 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Parthan, Wanī Dindorī, and Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrakūta* in l 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *ṭā* and *ṇā* which is a semi circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf *bhāṇō* l 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf *tasy-ātmaṇō* l 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *mu* and *shu* in the case of *ru*, *bhu* l 1, *tu* l 8, *Dhru* l 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters, sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *su*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *ta* occur in the record, the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf *yōyam* l 42, *dharmānām* l 62, *adhikārīkām* l 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ta* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (cf *vasēt* l 54 and *dadyāt* l 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrakūta records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kadaba plates of Gōvinda III<sup>1</sup>. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhī alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmāgad plates of Dantidurga,<sup>2</sup> the Talegaon plates<sup>3</sup> of Krishna I, and the Parthan,<sup>4</sup> Wanī-Dindorī,<sup>5</sup> and the Rādhanpur<sup>6</sup> plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates<sup>7</sup> of the present donor, Tōrkhādē<sup>8</sup> plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates<sup>9</sup> of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhī alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda-chihnas* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mahāvīra, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavādīn where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *ḍ* being changed into *d*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *sandhi* in *prathamōś-sūchīnām* l 39 and in *mukharas-cha śōbhām* l 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, Vol IV, p 340

<sup>2</sup> *Ind.*, Vol XIII, p 275

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XI, p 157

<sup>4</sup> *Ind.*, Vol XII, p 158

<sup>5</sup> *Ind.*, Vol XIV, p. 100,

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XI, p 111

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol III, p 105

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol VI, p 242

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol III, p 54

unconscious influence of the preceding word *khadgam*. In ll 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshuvāpī is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted —(1) *Va* is written throughout for *ba* (2) in a conjunct of which *v* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhū bhūja valād* l 31, *arishu* and *yathārthatā* in l 33 and *sātha* and *Prārtha* in l 39, (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhmanīya* in 1 cases (see ll 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhmanīya* mark has not been used (see ll 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47) (4) Whether this record uses the *phvāmūliya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *mk* (cf *mlu* l 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *sa* in the present record is different, we have besides two clear cases of *ska* in *skandhāvāra* l 14 and *vasaka* l 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *phvāmūliya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *phvāmūliya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m* (cf *Ante* Vol XVII, p 329, Mattepad plates, l 7, Vol VI, p 7, Aihole Inscription, l 17, etc) (5) The *musvāra* before a *sa* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf *vanśarh* l 51, in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary, see ll 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *ōm*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasārīkā or modern Nausārī. Ll 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarnavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of **Indrarāja**, was encamped on the bank of the **Vankikā** he granted on the full moon day of **Vasākha** of the **Śaka year 743** elapsed (corresponding to **Sunday the 21st of April 821 A D**) **Humanyayōgā**, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher Aparājita, who was disciple of the most revered Sumata who in turn was a pupil of Ma(l)lavādī<sup>1</sup>. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written, whether he has changed this letter to *ḍi* or *di* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been Malavādī, but Mallavādī, the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *l* may have been inadvertently omitted. Mallavādī, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Mattha* at Nausārī, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttara-tippanaka* on the *Nyāya-bindu-tīkā* of Dharmōttarācārya. R Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣhana has pointed out<sup>2</sup> that this Mallavādī may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A D. Our charter

<sup>1</sup> The reading is clearly Mallavādī and not Malavādī, to judge from the facsimile.—Ed

<sup>2</sup> *History of Indian Logic*, pp 191-5

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D., he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūṣana's view that Dharmōttarāchārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Sēna-sangha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-sangha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Pattāvalis*, the Mūlasangha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēva-sangha, Nandi-sangha and Sēna-sangha sometime in the 1st century A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-sangha is called *chātushṭaya* in our grant. The information of the *Pattāvalis* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausārī called the Pārśvanātha temple with two *Mathas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Śvētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Sangha that was already flourishing in the locality, in that case the antiquity of the Śvētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-sangha establishment of Nausārī to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *ōm* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinendra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rāshtrakūta genealogy of the main branch up to Amōghavarsha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarnavarsha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāshtrakūta records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Prichchhakarāja and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Komnūr inscription<sup>2</sup>, Sanjān copper-plates<sup>3</sup> of Amōghavarsha I and the Daśāvātāra cave record<sup>4</sup> do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Krishna I in preference to Dantidurga<sup>5</sup> as is done in the Wanī-Dindōri<sup>6</sup> and Rādhapur<sup>7</sup> plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates<sup>8</sup> of the present donor and Kāpaḍvanj plates<sup>9</sup> of Krishna II. The bravery of the next ruler Krishna I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional, his wars with the Gāngas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Krishna I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaḍvanj plates<sup>8</sup> of Krishna II and the Bagumrā plates<sup>9</sup> of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158

<sup>5</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 29

<sup>7</sup> *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242

<sup>9</sup> *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 53

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha-vivṛiddha-kīrtih*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūtas.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūta claim. The Manne plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra's son in 797<sup>2</sup> A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gattavādīpur plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who 'like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her'.<sup>3</sup> This statement, especially the Rāmāyana episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūta prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression *Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha*<sup>4</sup> I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūta invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river.<sup>4</sup>

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha, Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rīdhanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kanṭhālā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvī plates,<sup>5</sup> however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V 30 of our record supports the Kāvī plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yauvarānya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishēka-kalāṣaṅk* and *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratām* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvī and the present plates to denote *yuvarājābhishēka*, on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv 32-40 refer to Amōghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amōghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshtrakūta feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

<sup>1</sup> *Ep*, Wani Dindōrī plates, *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 157

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, Nelamangala, No 60

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XII, Nanjangud No 269

<sup>4</sup> [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāṅgaugha . kīrtih* —Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 147

could not know definitely until now Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A D and October 835 A D For, the Nausārī plates<sup>1</sup> of the present donor issued in February 817 A D, while referring to the succession of Amōghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion, while the Baroda plates<sup>2</sup> of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A D, contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūtas The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A D, it closely copies the Nausārī grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amōghavarsha I upon the imperial throne It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A D When Amōghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka, later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect The recently published Sanjān copper-plates<sup>3</sup> of Amōghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne This discrepancy can be explained in two ways (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name, Dr Bhagwānlāl Indrapī avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement<sup>4</sup> It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūta record (*eg*, the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A D, which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day), but so far no published Rāshtrakūta record assigns to him that title I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka, had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate, his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amōghavarsha<sup>5</sup> I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv 1-20 of the Nausārī grant<sup>6</sup> of the present donor, vv 23 24 and 26-28 are identical with vv 21 35 of the same record V 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,<sup>7</sup> the son of the present grantor, and vv 22 and 40 occur in the Paithan grant of Gōvinda III<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J B B R A S, Vol XX, p 135

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, Vol XVIII, p 48

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 199

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part I, p 124

<sup>5</sup> The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Rāshtrakutas and their Times'

<sup>6</sup> J B B R A S, Vol XX, p 135

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 199

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol III, p. 105



ll 38 39 and 41-42 V 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausārī grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Svāhastōyam mama sri Karkkarājasya śrīmad-Indrarāja sūnōh*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyana, son of *Kulaputraka* śrī-Durgabhatta, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausārī plates of 817 A D, for, the latter two documents describe Nēmāditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* Durgabhatta. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyana was more successful than that of his brother Nēmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahaka* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahaka* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijñānēśvara on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 320, says —

Sandhivigrahakārī tu bhavēd=yas=tasya lēkhakah

Svayam rājñā samādīśtah sa likhēd=rājasāsanam !

Vijñānēśvara himself says, '*Sandhivigrahakārīnā (śāsanam kārayēt) nānyēna kēnachit*' *Yājñavalkya* lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. *Nāgasārīkā* is modern Nausārī, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The *Pūrāvī* is obviously the river Pūrṇā on the banks of which Nausārī is situated. Of the two villages *Ambāpātaka* and *Sambapura*, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as Āmadpur, situated on the Pūrāvī or Pūrṇā and about 5 miles from Nausārī. Mr M K Nadkarni, the Subha of Nausārī, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called Āmrapura according to the local tradition. The river *Vankikā*, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vanki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausārī. The only place that thus remains to be identified is Sambapura. This village was to the north of Ambāpātaka or modern Āmadpur and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of Sampur in Kamrej Taluka, since it is 35 miles from Nausārī. It has now probably gone out of existence.

#### TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[The following metres have been used — *Anushtubh* —vv 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. *Āryā* —vv 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indravajrā* —v 23. *Upajātī* —vv 5 and 20. *Giti* —v 8. *Pushpātāgrā* —v 48. *Vamśasthavilā* —v 1. *Vasantatilakā* —vv 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* —vv 11, 18 and 31. *Sraḡḡharī* —vv 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

## First Plate

- 1 ओ<sup>1</sup> । श्रिय X पदं नित्यमशेषगोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिषिद्धदुष्यं [1\*]  
जनस्य भव्यत्व<sup>2</sup> समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुग्राहि जिनेन्द्रशाशनं<sup>3</sup> ॥[१॥\*] स वो
- 2 व्याह्वेयसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [1\*] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया  
कमलंकृत ॥[२॥\*] आसीद्वि<sup>4</sup>पत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध<sup>5</sup>स्तिन्नय-
- 3 नभिमुखो<sup>6</sup> रणसर्वरीषु<sup>7</sup> [1\*] भूपशुचिर्विधुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिगो<sup>8</sup>मिन्दराज इति  
राजसु राजसिद्ध<sup>9</sup> ॥[३॥\*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमाभि-
- 4 मुखी[1\*] सुभटाट्टहासामुन्नामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य [1\*] दष्टाधरेण  
दधता भुक्कुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृद[य\*] -
- 5 च निज[च\*] सत्व [१४॥\*] खड्ग[1\*] करग्राभ्युखतश्च शोभां<sup>10</sup> मानो मन-  
स्तस्ममेव यस्य [1\*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्व-
- 6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे [५॥\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति<sup>11</sup>  
रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी [1\*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु<sup>12</sup>विष्टपनृपानुक्ती<sup>13</sup>कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्क<sup>14</sup>राज इति गोत्रमणिव्व<sup>15</sup>भूव [१६॥\*] तस्य  
प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानद-
- 8 न्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचिरोर्ल्लिखितांसपीठ [1\*] क्षाप. क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूतनूजस्स द्राष्ट-  
कूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[७॥\*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या[1\*] भोक्ता<sup>16</sup>भुवश्शतक्र[तु\*]<sup>16</sup>शटशशीदन्ति-  
दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[८॥\*] काञ्चीशकेर-
- 10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीमी<sup>17</sup>थ्यवज्रटविभेदविधानदत्तं [1\*] कर्णाटकं वल<sup>18</sup>मचिन्त्यम-  
जयमन्वैर्भृत्यैर्द्विजैर-
- 11 पि यस्सहसा जिगाय ॥[९॥\*] असूविभंगमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताञ्ज-  
मपेतयत्नं [1\*] यो वल्लभ स्वपदि<sup>19</sup> दण्ड-
- 12 वलेन<sup>20</sup> जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०॥\*] आसेतोर्विपुलोपलावलि  
लसन्नोलोर्मिमालाजलादाप्राप्त्येक-<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>2</sup> Read भव्यत्व<sup>3</sup> Read नभिमुखी<sup>4</sup> Read गोत्रिन्द<sup>5</sup> Read शासनम्<sup>6</sup> Read द्विष<sup>7</sup> Read क्षत्ति<sup>8</sup> The central horizontal stroke of shu is missing<sup>9</sup> Read सिद्ध<sup>10</sup> Read शोभा.<sup>11</sup> Letters र्त्तिरार्त्त which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate.<sup>12</sup> Read स्तुतिविष्टप<sup>13</sup> See introduction for the symbol of gṛhāmālīya<sup>14</sup> Read लब्ध<sup>15</sup> Read भोक्ता<sup>16</sup> Read शटश<sup>17</sup> [सौ] here is a variant of हृष in other Rāshtrakūta grants —N P C]<sup>18</sup> Read वल<sup>19</sup> Read स्वपदि<sup>20</sup> Read वलेन<sup>21</sup> What looks like an anusvāra is a natural depression on the surface of the plate

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- 13 लंकितामलशिलाजालात्तुषाराचलादा<sup>1</sup>पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेय्येनेदं<sup>2</sup> ज-  
गती स्वविक्रमवलेने<sup>3</sup>का-
- 14 तपत्रीकृता ॥[११॥\*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावा<sup>4</sup>धः [1\*] श्री-  
कर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिऋणराजोभूत् <sup>5</sup>॥[१२॥\*] यस्य स्वभुजप-
- 15 राक्रमनिश्शेषोत्सादितारिदिवचक्र [1\*] कृष्णस्येवा<sup>6</sup>कृष्ण\*]चरित श्रीकृष्णराजस्य  
॥[१३॥\*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणू<sup>7</sup>रुद्धरविकिरणं[1\*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं<sup>8</sup>
- 16 प्रावृत्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१४॥\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही<sup>9</sup>तमजस्रं [1\*]  
तत्क्षणमकालवर्षे वर्षति सर्वार्थिनिर्व्व<sup>10</sup>प\*]णं ॥[१५॥\*] र[1]हृष्यमा-
- 17 त्मभुजजातव<sup>11</sup>लावलेपमा<sup>12</sup>जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [1\*] पालिध्वजावलि-  
शुभामचरिण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
- 18 ततान ॥[१६॥\*] क्रोधादुत्खातखड्ग<sup>13</sup>प्रसूतरिपुभ<sup>14</sup>यै<sup>15</sup>र्भासमानं समन्तादाजा<sup>16</sup>दुहृत्तवै-  
रिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसत्तोभदक्ष [1\*] सौ<sup>17</sup>र्थ्यन्यत्कारि-

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- 19 वग्गो<sup>18</sup> भयचकितवपुष्पापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो <sup>19</sup>दर्याभातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दो<sup>20</sup>दृष्ट-  
रूप ॥[१७॥\*] पाता यश्चतु<sup>21</sup>रम्बुराशिरसनालकारभाजा<sup>22</sup> भु-
- 20 वस्त्रैय्या<sup>23</sup>आपि क्षतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादरो<sup>24</sup> [1\*] दाता मानसदग्रणीगुणवता  
योसौ श्रियो भे<sup>25</sup>क्षभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 21 स्थानं जगामामार<sup>26</sup> ॥[१८॥\*] येन शेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जम्बे<sup>27</sup>  
नासीरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वल्लभाख्यसदाजौ [1\*] श्रीमन्नोविन्दराजो जि-
- 22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीत्सुनुरेक र लिताराति त्तभकुम्भः ॥[१९॥\*]  
तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [1\*]
- 23 प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच<sup>28</sup>क्र\*]क्रमेण वा<sup>29</sup>लार्कवपुर्व्व<sup>30</sup>भूव ॥[२०॥\*] जाते यत्र च  
राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्ग<sup>31</sup>तचूडा[म\*]णी गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्त्रजगतसुखामिनि  
प्रत्यह [1\*] [सत्य\*] सत्यमिति प्रशा-

<sup>1</sup> The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sandhi*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody

<sup>2</sup> Read °येनेय.

<sup>3</sup> The punctuation mark is damaged.

<sup>4</sup> Read निखिलं

<sup>5</sup> Read °बला°

<sup>6</sup> Read °र्भासमान.

<sup>7</sup> Read °वर्गो°

<sup>8</sup> Read °रुद्ध°

<sup>9</sup> Read °दर , the word being at the half-verse end, no *sandhi* is permitted

<sup>10</sup> Read °सामर

<sup>11</sup> Read °वर्भू°

<sup>12</sup> Read °वल्लभैका°

<sup>13</sup> Read इ

<sup>14</sup> Read °बाध°

<sup>15</sup> Read समीहित°

<sup>16</sup> Read ग्वद्वप्रसूतरविचये°

<sup>17</sup> Read °ग्रीष्मे°

<sup>18</sup> Read दोर्दृष्ट°

<sup>19</sup> Read स्त्रय्या°

<sup>20</sup> Read क्षभो

<sup>21</sup> Read °लार्क°

<sup>22</sup> Read जम्बे.

<sup>23</sup> भूप was the word probably intended by the poet

- 24 सति सति क्षमासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्वर्ष्मपरे गुणामृतनिधो सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते  
॥[२१॥\*] शशधरकिरणनिकरनिभं यस्य यशस्करन<sup>१</sup>याग्रसानुस्ये [१\*]  
परिगी-
- 25 यतेनुरक्तैर्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२॥\*] हृष्टोन्वहं योर्थिजनाय नित्यं  
सर्वस्वमानन्दितव<sup>२</sup>न्धुवर्ग. [१] प्रादाग्रकृष्टो हरति स्म वेगाद्याणान्यमस्यापि  
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्यः ॥[२३॥\*] रक्षता येन निशेषं चतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं [ १\*] राज्य  
धर्माण लोकाणा कृता हृष्टिपरं हृदि ॥[२४॥\*] योसौ प्रसाधित-  
[समुन्नत<sup>३</sup>सारदुर्गो गांगौ<sup>४</sup>धसन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विवृद्धकीर्त्ति<sup>५</sup>राक्तीकृतोन्नतवृषांक<sup>६</sup>विभूतिरुच्चैर्व्यक्तं ततान परमेश्वरतामिहैकः ॥  
[२५॥\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सद्यथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इ-
- 28 ति गोत्रललामभूतः [१\*] त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो  
जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥[२६॥\*] प्रिथ्वी<sup>७</sup>वल्लभ इति च प्रथित यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग\*]ति नाम [१\*] यश्चतुरुदधिसीमामेको वसुधा वशे चक्रे [१२७\*]  
एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा [१\*] परवल<sup>८</sup>जलधिमपार
- 30 तरन्स्वदोर्भ्या रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८॥\*] एको, निर्हेतिरह गृहीतशस्त्रा मे  
परे व<sup>९</sup>हवो [१\*] यो नैवविधमकरोच्चित्त स्वप्नेपि किमुताजौ ॥[२९॥\*]  
राज्याभिषेककलशैरभि-
- 31 पिच हस्तं राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपित्रा [१\*] अन्यैर्महानृपतिभिर्व<sup>१०</sup>हुभि-  
र्व<sup>११</sup>समित्य स्तम्भादिभिर्भुजवला<sup>१२</sup>द्वल्लुप्यमानां ॥[३०॥\*] एकोनेकनरेन्द्रहृन्दसहिता-
- 32 न्यस्तास्मस्तान्निप्रि प्रोत्सा<sup>१३</sup>स<sup>१४</sup>सिलतप्रहारविधुरा<sup>१५</sup>वध्वा<sup>१६</sup>स<sup>१७</sup>हासंयुगे [१\*]  
लक्ष्मी<sup>१८</sup>प्यचला<sup>१९</sup>चकार बिलत्<sup>२०</sup>सञ्जमरग्राहिणी<sup>२१</sup> ॥<sup>२२</sup>संसीदन्कृविप्रसज्जनसुहृद<sup>२३</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read °नगाय°<sup>२</sup> Read °बन्धु°<sup>३</sup> Four letters are missing, the reading given is conjectural<sup>४</sup> The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in गौ<sup>५</sup> Read कीर्त्ति [१\*] आक्तीकृतो, °कीर्त्ति being at the half verse end a sandhi is not possible<sup>६</sup> The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter क between two kaka pada: A small kakapada above the letter क, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter<sup>७</sup> Read पृथ्वी°<sup>८</sup> Read परवल°<sup>९</sup> Read बहव<sup>१०</sup> Read °वह°<sup>११</sup> The letter व is repeated by mistake<sup>१२</sup> Read °बला°<sup>१३</sup> Read °विधुरान्<sup>१४</sup> Read बद्धा<sup>१५</sup> Read महरि° The letter ह omitted while engraving is written below the line between सा and स<sup>१६</sup> Read °लसत्<sup>१७</sup> This punctuation mark is unnecessary<sup>१८</sup> Read °दन्ध°

- 33 नृपभोग्यां भुवि ॥[३१॥\*] तत्पुत्रोत्र गते नाकमाकम्पितारि<sup>1</sup>प्रजे [1\*]  
 श्रीमा<sup>2</sup>हाराजस<sup>3</sup>र्वाख्य[.\*] ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥[३२॥\*] अर्थिषु यथार्थता[.]  
 यस्तमभि<sup>4</sup>ष्टता<sup>5</sup>फ<sup>6</sup>लाप्तिलब्ध<sup>7</sup>तो-
- 34 षेषु [1\*] वृद्धिनिनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[\*३३॥] राजाभूतत्पितृव्यो  
 रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवान्नि<sup>8</sup>न्द्रराजो गुणिजनतिकरा<sup>9</sup>न्तश्चमत्वा-
- 35 रकारी । रागादन्यान्वुदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृप सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे  
 स[कल\*]कविजनोद्दी<sup>10</sup>यतथ्यस्वभाव ॥[३४॥\*] निर्व्वणावामिवानासहितहितजनो-
- 36 पार्थ<sup>11</sup>माना सुवृत्त वृत्त जित्वान्यराज्ञा चरितमुदयवान्सर्व्वतो हिसकभ्यः ॥(1)  
 एकाकी दृप्तवैरिस्खलनकृतिसहप्रातिराज्येशशा<sup>12</sup>ङ्कल्लंटीयमण्डल
- 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्त ररक्ष ॥[३५॥\*] यस्यागमात्रजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य  
 क्षमापालवेषफलमेव व<sup>13</sup>भू[व\*] सैन्य<sup>14</sup>मुक्तावौ व<sup>15</sup> सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

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- 38 व नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो<sup>16</sup> मनस्वी ॥[३६॥\*] श्रीकर्क<sup>17</sup>राज  
 इति रक्षिरा<sup>18</sup>तराज्यभारस्सारङ्कुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ<sup>19</sup>र्ध्य [1\*] तस्या-
- 39 भवद्विभ[व\*]नन्दितव<sup>20</sup>भुसार्थः प्रा<sup>21</sup>र्थ सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो<sup>22</sup>श्चचीनां ॥[३७॥\*]  
 दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया<sup>23</sup> वा सौ<sup>24</sup>र्ध्यैण वीर्य्यैण च कोपि भूपः [1\*]  
 एतेन साम्योस्ति
- 40 न वेति कीर्त्तिस्सकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥\*] श्वे<sup>25</sup>(स्वे)च्छागृहीत-  
 विषया[न्\*] दृढसङ्गभाजः प्रोदृत्तदृप्ततरशौल्कि<sup>26</sup>तराद्रकूटान्<sup>27</sup>त्खातस्व<sup>28</sup>निज-
- 41 बाहुवलेन<sup>29</sup> जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[३९॥\*] तेनेदमनिलविद्यु-  
 च्चचलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [1\*] क्षितिदानधरमपुण्य<sup>30</sup>प्रवर्त्तितो ध-

<sup>1</sup> Read °कम्पितरिपुप्रजे

<sup>2</sup> Read °महा°

<sup>3</sup> The usual spelling of this king's name is शर्व

<sup>4</sup> Read समभीष्ट°

<sup>5</sup> This letter ता is superfluous

<sup>6</sup> फ was first omitted, it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter ता between two vertical lines

<sup>7</sup> Read °लक्ष्म°

<sup>8</sup> Read °निन्द्र°

<sup>9</sup> Read °निकरा° A letter first written before ति has been subsequently crossed out

<sup>10</sup> Read °गौत°

<sup>11</sup> Read पास्य

<sup>12</sup> Read शशङ्कु°

<sup>13</sup> Read बभूव

<sup>14</sup> Read सैन्यम् । सुक्ता

<sup>15</sup> Read च

<sup>16</sup> Letters ममरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake

<sup>17</sup> This letter रा is superfluous.

<sup>18</sup> Read °शौल्कि°

<sup>19</sup> Read °वसु°

<sup>20</sup> Read पाथ

<sup>21</sup> Read प्रथम°

<sup>22</sup> य is written below the line under ता which was originally written after इ by mistake but was subsequently crossed out

<sup>23</sup> Read शौर्ध्यैण The letter र्य्य is written below the line between शो and य

<sup>24</sup> Read स्वेच्छा°

<sup>25</sup> Read शौल्कि°

<sup>26</sup> Read कूटान् । उत्खात°.

<sup>27</sup> The engraver had first inscribed खा, but the medial आ stroke was subsequently crossed out.

<sup>28</sup> Read बाहुवलेन

- 42 मदायोयम् ॥[४०॥\*] स च समधिगताशेषमहाश<sup>१</sup>व्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिस्तुवण-  
वर्षश्री[क\*]कराजदेवकुशली सर्वानिव यथास<sup>२</sup>वध्यमानाद्रूपति-  
43 विप्रग्रा<sup>३</sup>यपतिग्रामपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तनियुक्तवासावकाधिकारिका<sup>४</sup>रिकमहत्तरादी<sup>५</sup>कान्  
समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्तुविदित यथा मया श्रीवाङ्मकातट-  
44 स्थावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये<sup>६</sup>  
श्रीनागसारिकास्वतलसन्निविष्टार्हचैत्याल[या\*]यतननि[वड\*]  
45 सम्ब<sup>७</sup>पुरा<sup>८</sup>भ्यमण्डितवसतिकाया. खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मचरुर्वालि<sup>९</sup>दानपूजादर्थ<sup>१०</sup>न्तथा तथा<sup>११</sup>  
तिव<sup>१२</sup>ध्यमानचातुष्टयमूलसघोदयान्वयसेन-  
46 सेन<sup>१३</sup>संघमल<sup>१४</sup>वादि<sup>१५</sup>गुरोश्शिष्यश्रीसुमतिपूज्यपाद<sup>१६</sup> तच्छिष्यश्रीमदपराजितगुरोः<sup>१७</sup>  
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव<sup>१८</sup>अम्वापाटकग्रामस्य<sup>१९</sup> उत्तरदिशि  
47 हिरण्ययोगाभिधाना<sup>२०</sup> ढाषुवापी यस्या<sup>२१</sup>घाटनानि पूर्वत. श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो  
वह<sup>२२</sup> अपरत पूरावी महानदी<sup>२३</sup> उत्तरतस्त्व<sup>२४</sup>पुर-  
48 वापिका<sup>२५</sup> [।\*] एवमिय चतुराघाटोपलक्षिता सधान्यहिरण्यादेया<sup>२६</sup> अचाटभटप्रवे-  
श्य<sup>२७</sup>सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय<sup>२८</sup> आच-  
49 न्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीन<sup>२९</sup> शिष्यप्र<sup>३०</sup>शिष्यान्वयक्रमोपमो<sup>३१</sup>पभोग्य<sup>३२</sup> शकनृप-  
कालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु त्रिचत्वारिंशद-  
50 धिकेषु<sup>३३</sup>तीतेषु वैशाखपूर्णिमास्या स्नातोदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादि<sup>३४</sup>तोस्यो<sup>३५</sup>चितया<sup>३५</sup>  
आचार्यस्थित्या भुजतो भोजयतर्क्षतः कर्षयत. प्रतिदि-

<sup>१</sup> Read °शब्द°<sup>२</sup> Read °सम्बध्य°<sup>३</sup> This letter ग्रा is superfluous<sup>४</sup> The letters कारि are wrongly repeated<sup>५</sup> Read °दिकान्<sup>६</sup> What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of त्वे is a natural crack on the surface of the plate<sup>७</sup> Letters सम्ब are indistinct in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambapura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries<sup>८</sup> After रा there is a clear *kākapada*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible, there may have been no real omission, the *kākapada* being a mistake<sup>९</sup> Read °बलि°<sup>१०</sup> Read °पूजार्थं त<sup>११</sup> तथा is wrongly repeated<sup>१२</sup> Read °निबध्य°<sup>१३</sup> The word सेन is wrongly repeated<sup>१४</sup> Read °सल्ल°<sup>१५</sup> The letter दि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original<sup>१६</sup> Read °पादस्तच्छिष्य°<sup>१७</sup> Read गुरवे<sup>१८</sup> Read °वह्वास्वा°<sup>१९</sup> Read °ग्रामस्यी°<sup>२०</sup> Read °धाना<sup>२१</sup> Read यस्या आघा°<sup>२२</sup> Read वहीपरत<sup>२३</sup> Read °नद्युत्तरत°<sup>२४</sup> Read सम्ब°<sup>२५</sup> Read वापिका<sup>२६</sup> Read °द्वयाचाट°<sup>२७</sup> Read °प्रवेष्टासर्व° The word वापी is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine<sup>२८</sup> Read °श्रीयाचन्द्रा°<sup>२९</sup> Read °कालीना<sup>३०</sup> Read प्रशिष्य°<sup>३१</sup> The letters सोप are wrongly repeated<sup>३२</sup> Read भोग्या<sup>३३</sup> Read °ष्वतीतेषु<sup>३४</sup> Read °पादिता । अस्या उचित°<sup>३५</sup> याचार्य



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- 51 शतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना करणीया<sup>1</sup> ॥ तथागामिन्पतिभिरक्ष<sup>2</sup>द्वैशैरखै<sup>3</sup>र्वा  
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्च-
- 52 र्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नचंचलग्न<sup>4</sup>विन्दु<sup>5</sup>चचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम-  
नुमन्तव्यं परिपालयितव्यञ्च [॥\*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृत-
- 53 <sup>6</sup>तमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स प[च\*]भिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च  
सयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तं च भग[व\*]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥\*] षष्टिं वर्षस-
- 54 हस्त्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिद<sup>7</sup> [॥\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके  
वसेत् ॥[४१॥\*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [॥\*] कृष्णाहयो  
हि जायन्ते
- 55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥\*] सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकज<sup>8</sup>न्मानुगं फलं [॥\*]  
हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां नैकजन्मात्मकं फलं ॥[४३॥\*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यद्वाद्र-

*Third Plate First side*

- 56 क्ष नराधिप [॥\*] महीममहिमता['] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं ॥[४४॥\*]  
व<sup>9</sup>हु[भि\*]र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्त्वक<sup>10</sup>रादिभि<sup>11</sup> [॥\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य-  
[तस्य\*] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥\*] अग्नेरपत्यं
- 57 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [॥\*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि  
दत्तं यज्ञाच्चनं गाञ्च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा  
नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मा-
- 58 र्ययस(श)स्कराणि [॥\*] निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु<sup>12</sup>पु-  
नराददीत ॥[४७॥\*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु<sup>13</sup>लोला श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-  
जीवितञ्च [॥\*] अति-
- 59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्<sup>14</sup> हि पुरुषै<sup>15</sup>परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[४८॥\*] यथा  
चैतदेवं तथा साशन<sup>16</sup>दाता लिपिज्ञस्त्व<sup>17</sup>हस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं  
मम श्री<sup>18</sup>कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

<sup>1</sup> कार्य<sup>1</sup> was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial अ mark of का and the following र्या and adding the letters रणीया

<sup>2</sup> Read °द्वैशै°

<sup>3</sup> Read °रखै°

<sup>4</sup> Read जल for चचलग्न

<sup>5</sup> Read विन्दु

<sup>6</sup> This त is superfluous

<sup>7</sup> Originally ज्ञा was engraved, but the medial अ mark was subsequently crossed out

<sup>8</sup> Read बहु°

<sup>9</sup> Read °गरा

<sup>10</sup> Read °लाम्बुविन्दु°

<sup>11</sup> Read °न

<sup>12</sup> Read साशन A *kākapada* after एवं draws attention to the words साशनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two *kākapadas*.

<sup>13</sup> A *kākapada* above स्त्व draws attention to the letters हस्तेन स्त्व, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word साशनदाता between two *kākapadas*.

<sup>14</sup> A *kākapada* above म draws attention to the letter श्री, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between म and क

- 60 न्द्रराजसुतस्य ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया महासन्धिविग्रहाधिपतिना नारायणेन  
कुलपुत्रकश्चिदुर्गभट्टसुनुना ॥ जीयादुरितविहेषी<sup>1</sup> शासनं जि-
- 61 नशासनं [\*] यदन्यमतशैलानां भेदने कुलिशायते ॥[४८]\*] जयति जिनोक्तो  
धर्मप्यङ्गीवनिक्कायवत्सलो नित्यं । चूडामणिरिव लो[के]\*]
- 62 विभाति यस्सर्वधर्माणाम् ॥[५०]\*]

## TRANSLATION

NOTE —Vv 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr (now Dr) D R Bhandarkar in *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, pp 142 ff, while editing the Nausārī plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v 35 which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so as well. Vv 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzscher in *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, pp 201-2.

V 1 Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinās, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*), which prohibits (recourse to) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V 22 Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with ze by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mēru*) mountain.

V 25 Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Paramēśvara (1, supreme ruler, 2, god Śiva, 3) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛshanka (1 king named Śiva 2; or 2, who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes), so he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts, (or 2, so he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous,) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies), (or 2, who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in matted hair).

Ll 42-48 And now that king śrī-Karkkarāja alias Suvarṇavarsha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (five) musical instruments<sup>4</sup> and who is the chief of great fortresses, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāṣṭrapati*), district officers (*Vishayapati*),<sup>5</sup> village land-lords<sup>6</sup> (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates<sup>7</sup> (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders<sup>8</sup> (who were descendants of) the (original) colonisers<sup>9</sup> (of the villages) (*Vāsāvakamahattarādīkārīn*) and of officers concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Read विहेषि

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the famous *Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gangavadi whose ruler's name was Śivamāra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Rāṣṭrapatis of the image of seated Śiva as *Viśvabhāna*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

<sup>4</sup> These five instruments were *śringa*, *śankha*, *bhēri*, *ṛṇṇā* and *tamraṇṇa*. See *Ind Ant*, Vol p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Since both *grāmapati* and *grāmakūṭa* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, preferably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.

<sup>6</sup> Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

<sup>7</sup> For the interpretation of *Mahattara* as a member of the village council, see Altekar, *History of the V. Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *vasavaka* is obscure, it occurs again in the grant of Dantidimura, (*Ind Ant*, Vol. XX, p. 146). The meaning suggested is only tentative.



Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vankikā,—(*the field*) called Hiranyayōgā (*irrigated by*) the well of Dhāshu,<sup>1</sup> situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to śrī-Nāgasārikā whose boundaries (are as follows) —to the east (*the field watered by*) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pūrāvī, and to the north the (*public*) well of Sambapura,—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered śrī-Sumatī, who was the disciple of Mallavādin (*belonging to*) Sēna-sangha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-sangha, for the purpose of (*daily*) worship, cooked rice offerings,<sup>2</sup> and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (*vasatīkā*), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of śrī-Nāgasārikā

Ll 48-53 This (*field*), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (*by me*) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (*the exactions levied at*) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (*by the donee or his successors while*) leading the life proper for a (*Jain*) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings, whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (*to all the rulers ruling for the time being*) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (*a blade of*) grass. Whosoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (*this grant*) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (*five*) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses)

Ll. 59-62 The donor who has seen (*the contents of*) this document<sup>3</sup> writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (*engraving*) is in accordance with (*the charter originally granted*). This is my own sign-manual, of śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (*charter*) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhata, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister

V 49 May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder bolt in destroying the mountains, (*in the form*) of other theories, be (*ever*) successful

V. 50 Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the crest-jewel of all other religions.

\* <sup>1</sup> In Gujārāt, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāshu.

<sup>2</sup> *Charubala* is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as *Sāsanaḍṭṭi-īpīśāka* the translation would be 'The (*principal*) writer (*in the secretariat office*) of the donor certifies that . . .'

- 11 r=ānandāta cha Dhūrj arCh slathā aiā v̄dv-ādaram Nandinā | līlā-lōhita-  
kara-galad-valgēna yasy=ōchechakair=Bhāsvat-sārathinā tathā  
12 prati-Tapah sa(sa)śvad=yaśō giyatē || [8]\*] **Prabōdhasiva** ity=abhūt=sakala-śishya-  
vargg-āgranīh sa tasya Madana-dyishah Paraśurāma-nāmā yathā | yaśah  
khachita-  
13 din-mukhō guṇi-janāya vittam dadan(nn)=rūṇikritā-vasundharō vijita-śatru-varggaś-  
cha yah || [9]\*] Udagra-śikhī-tarppaṇa-pragunīṭ-aika-pāṇīh kṣhaṇam Kumāra  
14 iva sarvyadā parihrit-ānganā-sangamah | samunnata-mahibhṛti prakatit-ātma-śakti-  
kramō Manōbhava-ripu-priyō vihita-dēva-kāryaś=cha yah || [10]\*]

## B

- 15 Vichārya nikhil āgamān=vidhi-samādhi-vu(bu)ddh-Ēśvaraḥ priyāla-phala-mūlak-āmālaka  
śāka-sālūka-bhuk | Nad-ōkshita-dharā-talē guru-jan-ānu-  
16 kāri tāpaś=charamn=jagati<sup>1</sup> vismayam vyadhita vā(bā)la-bhāvē=pi yah || [11]\*]  
Mahibhṛm-mūrdh-āgra-pragunatara-pādah samudayī dadhan=mitratvam yas=timra-  
bhūdu-  
17 rañ kāryam=akarōt | tathā sandhy-ārambhē nikhila-jana-vandyah kim=aparam  
pratāpēna vyāpnōt=tri-bhuvanam=api prāpta-mahimā || [12]\*] Guru-grāva-grām  
ōtkhana-  
18 na-dalana-dhvansa(dhvamsa)-vidhinā mahidhrē=dhvānam yō vyadhita jaladhau  
Rāghava iva | sarit-srōtāshv=ēvam vipina-gahanēshv=adbhutamakaram jagaty=  
ācharyam hi prathaya-  
19 ti mahat-karmma mahatām || [13]\*] Jadatara-maguch=Chhōnasy=āmbhah-kānāṭ=ayam=  
āśramō marga-pati-mahā-dhvāna rātrau pratāpānt-ānv(b)arah | Līśikhan  
śikha-  
20 ra-prāṇa-prāṇkha-dvirōpha-payōdharō janayati janē vidyuch-chhankām mah-ausha-  
dhi-rōchishā || [14]\*] Chumv(b)anti vānara-gaṇā muga-śatru-pōtān=simhi-stanam  
piv(b)ati ch-ā-  
21 ttra śār-mangasya | yauram nānam pariharanti virōdhinō=nyē sarvvasya sāmyati  
manō hi tāpō-vanēshu || [15]\*] Guru-kṛta-sur-āgarād-ārād=amum ma-  
22 tham-unnatam, svakam=iva yaśō śubh-ābh-ābhām visālāna=achikarat | anugram-  
athō Sindhu-prakhyam tadāgam=achikharat=prachura-salilam kūpam ch=ātra  
23 Prayō(bō)dhasiyah samā || [16]\*] Śrīmat-Prasāntaśva-kāntam=antā kūpam kālēna  
Śrīmat-patit-ākha-dāru-pūram | bhaktyā gurōr=guru-śilā-tachanā-  
24 vishāram sō-chikarat=tad-anu dūram=achikharat=cha || [17]\*] Va(Ba)bhūva bhuv  
Dikshito vihita-kirttanō Mēhukah sa sa-jana-gaṇ-āgranīr=ajamayat=sutam  
25 Jēkam | tāpaś=sv-Amank-ōdāgē samabhavat=kavir=Dhāmsatāh prasastam=akarōd-asau  
vikata-varma-va(ba)ndham=umam || [18]\*] Pasupati-jatō-jita-bhṛantā ham-ā-  
26 dri-śilā-tala-skhalita-salilā chañchad-vichi-pavittrita-bhūtalā | vrajati saritān nātham  
yāva-Bhagīratha-varīmanā sara-sarid-yaśō tāvat-kirttāh sthū=astu bhūva sthū-  
tā || [19]\*] La-  
27 kshmidhara-gutah khyatō Vāsudēv-ānujah suhīh | umam Dāmōdarō-lēkhīt-prasastām  
pravar-ākhārām(m) || [20]\*] Sūtradhāra-Sūtrākāṇḍay-ōtkirāṇā Nīlakanthēna || Samvat  
724 Phālguna-śudī 5 ||

<sup>1</sup> Read charaṇ=jagati.



[illegible]





विंशत्येति विना नाना विविचिता  
कारोत्तमं पुरं नृपति विष्णु यं च वि  
रं कायेन करोता न धाम श्रारं नृ  
कयत्न नृपति विविचिता नदी रं नृ  
तिमदक नृपति नदनामा ऊट नर न  
रथा क्रपे नृपति रं पयो वरो ज नृपति  
नृपति सुमं नृपति रं नृपति परिदर  
० नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति  
पुनो वसिष्ठः समी ॥ श्रीमत्पुनो वसिष्ठः  
विंशत्येति नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति  
नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति  
दिशि नातल नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति  
श्रीवर सुतः नृपति नृपति नृपति नृपति

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सुदृग्गुहः प्रियात्नदत्तमनसा मन्त्रकर्मकरः  
 तत्कालमापयिष्यः मदीदृशश्चैव गुणान्तरक  
 रित्तज्जन्मवन्तुः किमप्यं प्रमादं न चार्थं विदुवन्  
 कुर्वन्तु न मे रायवदं वरपरिग्रहः सुदं विदि  
 त्तु मन्त्राणां कर्म रम्यं नमो नमः किमदाध  
 ज्जन्म विदुः कर्म मदीय विरोधिया ॥ इन्द्रिन्द्रान्तर  
 विरोध विरोधो यत्तु मन्त्राणां किमदाध  
 विद्यात्तमरीकरत्तु अकुशिरमर्षो विदुः प्रष्टुं  
 वकारि तमहं कर्म काले मन्त्राणां पुनरित्त  
 मन्त्र ॥ वदु वदु विदीक्षितो विदित्त कीर्तनो मे  
 कविर्ज्ञेयः प्रष्टुं मन्त्राणां विदुः प्रष्टुं  
 विदित्त मन्त्राणां विदुः प्रष्टुं मन्त्राणां  
 मन्त्राणां विदुः प्रष्टुं मन्त्राणां

कदुकाभवे किं वरागते शुक्रजवाकु  
दः समुद्रमोपम मिश्रदं यन्निमिरहिदु  
ममिप्राप्तमदिमामाशु कथा वया मोक्ष  
कगदके वरुण करं जगत्या शुर्वे हि प्रपय  
वैरा प्रोषति वनिता वरः सिद्धिरि सिद्ध  
प्राप्तमुरारादु योना सिद्धि सुखं पिबति रा  
केषु ॥ शुक्रकृत मुरारा ॥ रादारादु मं  
कदाशमरीश्वर मुरार मलि लंका मं  
राज प्रमद कृपु रो शुभ सिद्धार रना  
कः यमदूक शप्ता शुष्णीर कृक य शुभं  
मिमासा ॥ पसुपति जगद्गुह्य द्वाक्ष दिवा  
पुरमरिदिवंता वकीर्तिः मुरा सुदुहि सिद्धि ॥ त  
यो कीर्तिना रकठना ॥ मव ॥ १० ॥ नुज शुभ

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TRANSLATION

Verse 1 Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva ! Victorious is that Śiva (Sarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the humming waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Śiva's body*), flashes the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates the quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (*his*) crest

V 2 May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon<sup>1</sup> emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V 3 May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord of Chandī (*i e*, Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz*, Śeṣha) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (*of Śiva*) skilled in practising the *chārī* step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (*dance again*) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*was accompanied by the*) deep sound of the *damaru*

V 4 May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (*clan*) was born **Puraṇḍara**, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings His disciple (*was*) **Śikhaśiva** (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the lustre of his austerities became a lamp (*lit bore the qualities of a lamp*) illuminating (*lit standing on*) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*)

V 5. After him (*who was*) lord of **Madhumatī** came **Prābhāvaśiva** who had accumulated great austerities (*to his credit*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (*and who*) was made to accept the earth, sanctified by his feet (*i e*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.) by **Yuvarājadēva**

V 6 Thereafter came his disciple **Prasāntaśiva**, (*who like*) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt to dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame, and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night lotuses

V 7 He, the virtuous, whose food was fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*edible*) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river **Śōṇa** and at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered with dense forest of *Prayāla* trees<sup>2</sup>

V 8 Whose fame was incessantly sung with delight in every (*month of*) **Māgha**<sup>3</sup> in a high tone by *Gandharvas* and *Vidyādhara*s, in the assembly of Indra in the celestial garden and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śiva relaxed his attention to instrumental music, (*to entice the God to hear his devotee's fame sung*) (*and by*) the charoteer of the sun who lolling his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic mood let the reins of the horses slide from his hands

V 9 **Prabodhaśiva** was the foremost among all his (**Prasāntaśiva's**) disciples, just as **Paraśurāma** was of the enemy of Madana (*i e*, Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

<sup>1</sup> [ Apparently the moon with the slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the laugh, while the cloud in the vicinity has its counterpart in the elephant skin—Ed. ]

<sup>2</sup> *Buchanana Latifolia*

<sup>3</sup> [ This month being the occasion of the Śiva-rātri festival is particularly sacred to Śiva—Ed. ]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (*and*) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame

V 10 Who betimes, was like Kumāra (*i e*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (*as Kumāra's one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock*), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or *weapons*) on exalted kings (or *high mountains*), who was devoted to (*Śiva*), the enemy of the mind-born (*i e*, Kāma) (*as Kumāra was the favourite of Śiva*) and who had performed (*all*) the duties towards the gods (*just as Kumāra carried out the slaughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods*)

### B

V 11 Who, after investigating all the scriptures acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (*of religious duties*), who living on greens (*śāka*), roots of water plants (*śālūka*) and fruits such as *āmalaka*, *priyāla* as well as roots (*mūla*), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (*his*) boyhood on the bank (*lit on the surface of land*) washed by the river (*Śōṇa*), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

V 12 Who, having obtained greatness acted in a friendly manner (*or as the sun*) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (*worshipping*) kings (*just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains*) (*and*) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or *darkness*), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (*just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of three Sandhyās*) What more (*to say*)? He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (*just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds*)

V 13 Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy<sup>1</sup> stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (*as also*) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (*did*) through the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V 14 At night, this hermitage (*āśrama*) causes to the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (*growing near it*), resembling lightning, (*that*) of clouds on account of the (*dark*) bees flying at the sides of mountain peaks, (*that of thunder*) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (*and that of showers*) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śōṇa

V 15 In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness, so other (*lower animals*), who are (*natural*) enemies, take leave of their antipathy, indeed, in forests devoted to austerities the minds of all become peaceful

V 16 Near the temple built by his preceptor, the calm Prabōdhaśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (*matha*) (*which was white*) like his own fame, resembling the white clouds, he also caused to be excavated, close to the mountain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V 17 On account of his devotion for his preceptor he caused to be deeply re-excavated (*and re-built*) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, the well, which was excavated by Prasāntaśiva, at this place, (*but which*) had become dilapidated on account of (*the passage of*) time, and full of wood.

V. 18 There was a Dīkṣita named Mēhuka whose fame was known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēka in the womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhāmsata. He composed this *prasaśi* of difficult composition.

<sup>1</sup> [The process of road making described here is strikingly similar to that adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing' was well known in Hindu India. The word *वस* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of the road metal and apparently survives in *Hindi वस* and *Bengali दরস* = a rammer — Ed.]



V 19 Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (*i.e.*, Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādrī (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (*lit lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha

V 20. This *prasaṣṭi* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakshmīdhara

Inscribed by Nīlakantha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna

#### No 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH, 12TH YEAR

By C R KRISHNAMACHARLU, B A, MADRAS

The record edited below was discovered<sup>1</sup> in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr G Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Kondakambēru<sup>2</sup> in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F G Butler, Esq, I C S, the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra,<sup>3</sup> a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Podāgadh, reported by Mr Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17 Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Podāgadh by the Duffadar of the Umarhōt Thāna office who accompanied us as our guide It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription<sup>4</sup> leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *satī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Ganēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick set bamboo grove All these human associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining state of Bastar<sup>5</sup> The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle

<sup>1</sup> [Sewell in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol I (p 317) refers to an 'inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters at Podagada,' which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate The stone door way referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription —Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Nos 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922

<sup>3</sup> No 282 of the same Collection

<sup>4</sup> No 283 of 1922

<sup>5</sup> For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, p 160, Vol X, pp 25 ff, Vol XII, p 242, see also R B Hirral's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Podāgadh hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhandāngūda which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 95, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamāsasthavila) are Anushtubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?]varman,<sup>1</sup> son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pā]damūla or foot-print of Vishnu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of bhūmi-dakṣiṇā the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Vāsudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's<sup>2</sup> or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (sēnāpati) Pritibhāgavata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the ājñāpati of the Eastern Chālukya and the sūndhivagrahika of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Viśvarūpa, son of Ajā.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarma<sup>3</sup> which has been assigned by Professor Kādhōra to the first half of the 6th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> and those of the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493.<sup>5</sup> The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ja*, *ṭha*, *dhā*, *ba*, *ma* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *re* and *ga* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The anusvāra is marked by a small round loop in the Tālagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *na*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

<sup>1</sup> The name is much blurred in the estampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

<sup>2</sup> Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Rithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pl. XI.

miniature *ma* written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *ṛhvāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyāh=kratnā* (l 4). The *upadhmanīya* is employed in the compound words *pituh=pitōmaha* (l 4), *°mah=pārthiva°* (l 10) and *[bhartu]h=pr°* (l 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases<sup>1</sup>, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates<sup>2</sup> following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikkrama* in l 2, *vyatikkrāmēd=yō* in l 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkhya* (l 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur<sup>3</sup> copper plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them<sup>4</sup>. He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas<sup>5</sup> at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōnkan.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'<sup>6</sup>. Dr Fleet depending upon the mention of the *Nalavādi-vishaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnul districts<sup>7</sup>. The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōnkan and the Kadambas of Vaijayanṭī were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town *Pushkarī* mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यती[त्ये]षा गुणस्तुतिर्न[हि] सा [1\*]  
ननु भगवा[नेव]
- 2 जयो जितव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [1\*] श्रीनलान्वयमुख्यस्य विक्रमक्षपित  
द्विषः [1\*]
- 3 नृपतेर्भवदत्तस्य सत्पुत्रेणान्यसंस्थिताम्<sup>9</sup> ॥ [2\*] भ्रष्टामाकृत्य राजर्षिं
- 4 शून्यामावास्य पुष्करीम् [1\*] पितुःपितामहानाञ्च जनन्याःक्रि(क)तिना [ततः] [13\*]

<sup>1</sup> *rajarddham* (l 3), *pūjārtham* (l 6), *sarvasāh* (l 8), *visargyatam* (l 8)

<sup>2</sup> *nripatēr=Bhavaddattasya* (l 3) and *dharmmārthanē* (l 5), but cf *pūjārtham* in the above note.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XIX, pp 100 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 4

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Davangere No 1, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol VIII, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part II, p 181

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p 282

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages prepared by myself

<sup>9</sup> It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणान्यवस्थिताम्

- 5 कृत्वा धर्मा<sup>१</sup>र्थनेभ्याशानि(मि)दमात्महितैषिणा [१\*] पादमूलं कृत विष्णो [राज्ञा  
श्री[स्कन्दव]-
- 6 मणा ॥ [४\*] पूजार्थमस्य चैवेह सोदकभूरिदक्षिणम् [१\*] पुरुषाय  
पुरं [द] . . .
- 7 कृतारका[म्]<sup>१</sup> ॥ [५\*] <sup>२</sup>सत्रोपभोज्यं विप्राणां यतीनाञ्च विशेषतः [१\*]  
[दीनानाम]प्यनाथानां
- 8 च सर्वशः ॥ [६\*] <sup>३</sup>अप्रवेशं भट्टैश्चेदं सदा करविसर्जितम् । श्री[चक्रद्रो]-  
णपुत्र[१\*]य .
- 9 यथोचित[म्\*] ॥ [७\*] स्थितिश्चैयं पुरो बद्धा धर्म्या स्तम्भे निवे[शि]ता [१\*]  
यश्चेमां क्तापये[त्स]स्थाम्हापा[त]<sup>४</sup> . . . [८\*]
- 10 व्यतिक्रमेद्यो हि महीपते[.] स्थिति[म्] कुलाधमपाथ्यवकिस्त्रिषम्यिवे[त्] ॥ [९\*]
- 11 समन्वियाद्यश्च [नरेन्द्र]सत्पथम् स वासुदेवाश्च[य]माप्नुयाच्चिर[म्\*] ॥ [९\*]
- 12 द्वादशेन्द्रे नरेन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंशे] दिने पुण्ये
- 13 स्तम्भोयं [गा]हितस्वयम् ॥ [१०\*] <sup>५</sup>प्रीतिभागवते[नै]वम् भर्तु<sup>६</sup>प्रिय[चा] .
- 14 सेनापतिना<sup>६</sup>कल्पिता मालिनेहाल्पबुद्धिना ॥ [११\*] . . .
- 15 लिखित [चौ]लिसूनुना भक्त्या [जां]तुरदासेन [१२\*]
- 16 [आ]जेन विश्वरूपेन(ण) निर्गुणेन गु[णैषिणा] [१३\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Victory ! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as “ Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious,” is not that (i.e., appropriate) For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror .

(Vv 2 to 4) This foot-print (or sanctuary)<sup>१</sup> was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (scion) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was 'unsettled') and having repeopled the deserted (town of

<sup>१</sup> Read तारकम् [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as पुरुषाय पुर दत्तमवाचन्द्रार्कतारकम् ॥—Ed]

<sup>२</sup> [Read सत्तोपभोज्य —Ed.]

<sup>३</sup> The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman have the expressions अभट्टप्रावेश and सर्वकरविसर्जित (above, Vol. XIX, p 103, ll 12 13 of the text Cf also above, Vol XI, p 2, l 9 of the text)

<sup>४</sup> This might be restored as महापातकमश्नुते

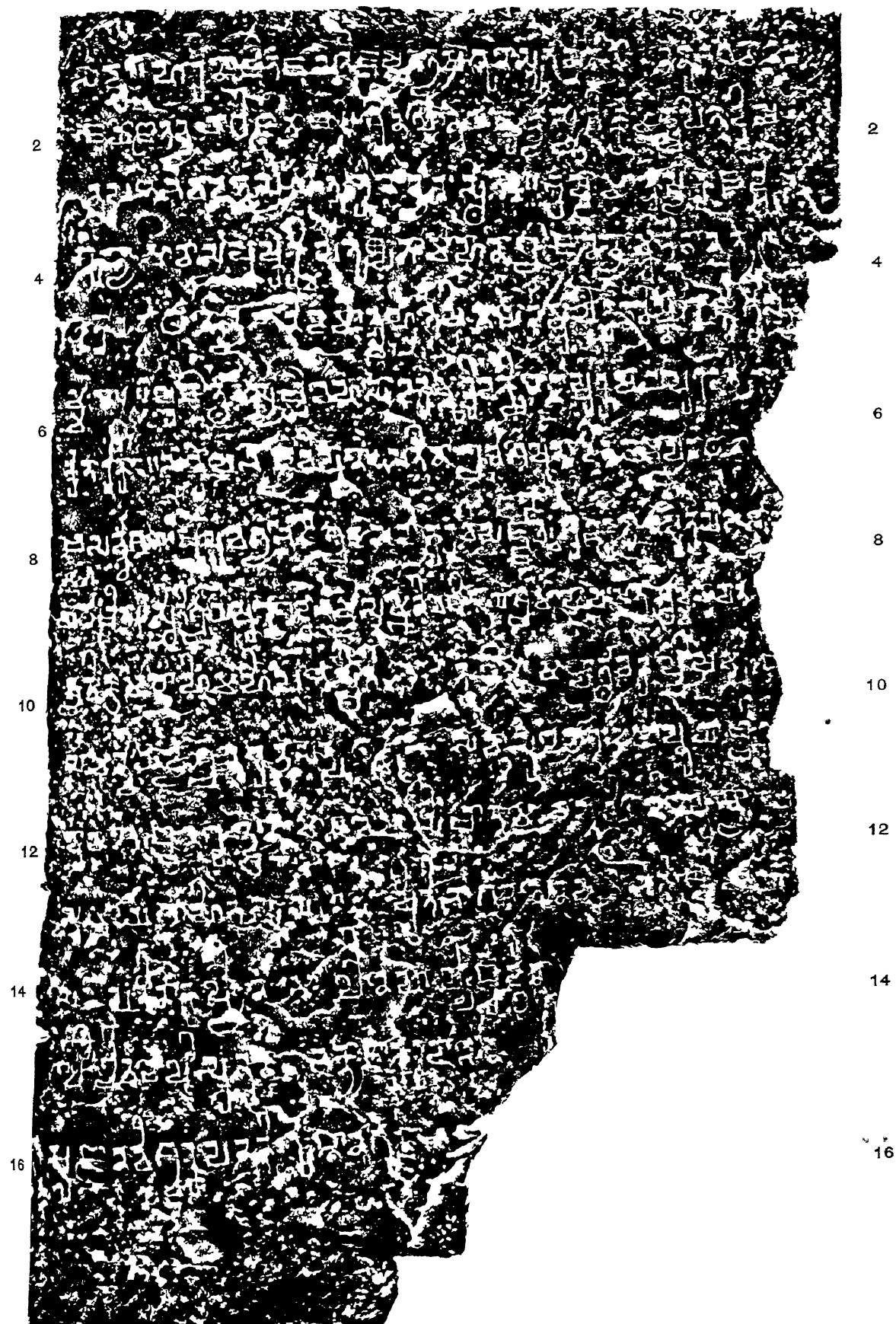
<sup>५</sup> [Read [स्थि]तिभागवतेनैषा —Ed]

<sup>६</sup> [Reading is कल्याणमालि\* One pāda is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15 The existing two pādas in l 15 seem to be the second and first pādas respectively of an Anushtubh half verse —Ed]

<sup>७</sup> Compare this statement with the description of Vishnu as “ vyayō jētā ” given in verse 16 of the Vishnu sahasranāma

<sup>८</sup> [The word padamūla is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary, see above, Vol. XI, No 10, p. 193, —Ed]

# THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH





**Pushkarī**, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself

(Vv 5 and 6) And for His worship in this (*temple*), with (*libation of*) water and with abundant *dakṣhīnā* a holding (*pura*)<sup>1</sup> for the Supreme Being (*Puruṣa*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (*free*) feeding in a *śatra* of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute

(V 7) This (*holding*) (*shall remain*) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax free to the son of the noble [Chakradrōṇa] as may be suitable

(V 8) This order (*of the king*) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (*of the temple*) Whoever causes damage to this (*shall incur*) great sin

(V 9) Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (*one*) will commit offence against the king, he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (*god*) Vāsudēva

(V 10) This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred **twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava** (*i e*, **Vaisākha**) **in the twelfth year** (*of his reign*)

(V 11) Thus was promulgated (*the ordinance*) on all sides (*i e*, everywhere) by the General **Prītibhāgavata** (*who was*) devoted to his master (*and it*) was composed by **Mālin** of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*)<sup>2</sup>

(Vv 12 and 13) (*The edict*) has been written with devotion by **Jānturadāsa**, the son of [Chau]<sup>3</sup>,<sup>3</sup> (*and engraved* <sup>2</sup>) by **Viśvarūpa**, the son of **Aja** (*who is*) devoid of qualities (*and aspires for good qualities* <sup>2</sup>)

#### No 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S 1103

BY D B DISKALKAR, M A, SATARA

These plates were discovered in 1917 in **Tilakwādā**, a *petā mahāl* under Sankhedā in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Narmadā and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant The late Mr J S Kudālkar, M A, Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,<sup>4</sup> and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*<sup>5</sup> The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named **Bhōjadēva**, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour His feudatory was **Sū(Śū)rāditya** born in the family of the *Śravanabhādras* and who had migrated from **Kānyakubja** (modern Kanauj) Sū(Śū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadeva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhavāhana as well as the warriors of other princes Śūrāditya's son was **Jasōrāja** who was enjoying **Sangamakhētamandala**

<sup>1</sup> Though the word '*pura*' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as '*Brahmapurī*' or '*Brahmapura*', see *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Kadur Nos 10, 125, Vol XI, Chitaldrug No 12, and *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 47, Vol V, pp 18, 22, 150, and Vol VI, p 202, Text 1 23 Dr Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans

<sup>2</sup> This epithet as also *nirgunēna* in the next line is prompted by modesty

<sup>3</sup> [Probably Chau] of this record is the same as Chulla, the writer of the Rathapur plates of Bhavattavaman (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 103)—N P C]

<sup>4</sup> Vol II, pp 319 ff

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jasōrāja of the village **Vilūhaja** and one hundred (measures) of land in the village **Ghantāpalli** to a Śaiva ascetic **Dinakara** for the worship of **Ghantēśvara** (Śiva). The writer of the grant was **Sōhika**, son of the **Kāyastha** **Aiyala** of the **Vālabhya** family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king **Bhōjadēva**, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that **Bhōjadēva** mentioned here is the famous **Paramāra** king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for **Bhōja** is V S 1076 from the **Bānswārā** plates<sup>1</sup> and the latest is V S 1099<sup>2</sup>. The latest date of **Vākpati Muñja** is V S 1050<sup>3</sup>. He was succeeded by **Sindhurāja** and the latter by **Bhōja**, evidently, some time before V S 1076, the date of the **Bānswārā** plates. For **Bhōja**'s successor **Javasimha**, we have V S 1112 as the earliest date in his **Māndhātā** plates<sup>4</sup>. It is evident therefore that **Bhōja** died some time before V S 1112 and after V S 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that **Bhōja** ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to **Bhōja**'s reign the approximate period from V S 1055 to V S 1110. The **Bhōjadēva** of the present record of V S 1103 must therefore be identical with the **Paramāra** **Bhōja**. The contemporary **Chaulukya** ruler of Northern **Gujarāt** was **Bhīma I**, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the **Lāta** country (**Surat** and **Broach** Districts) another **Chaulukya** family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the **Chaulukyas** of **Anahilapātana** as may be seen from the **Surat** plates<sup>5</sup> of **Kīrtirāja** of Śaka 940 and of **Tribhuvānapāla** of Śaka 972. We know also that the **Paramāras** were not new to the province of **Gujarāt** in the time of **Bhōja**. For the two grants<sup>6</sup> of the **Paramāra** **Siyaka** of V S 1005 recently found at **Harsola** in **Ahmadābād** District and the incomplete grant<sup>7</sup> of V S 1026 of the same king found in **Ahmadābād** show us that that part of **Gujarāt** at any rate was in the hands of the **Paramāras** during the time of **Siyaka**.

At **Kalavana** in the **Nāsik** District an undated grant<sup>8</sup> of the time of **Bhōja** is found which leaves no doubt that **Bhōja**'s power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of **Bhōja**'s defeating the kings of a number of countries including **Lāta** and **Gujarāt**. In the **Betmā** plates<sup>9</sup> of **Bhōja** of V S 1076 the village granted may probably be located in **Gujarāt**. All these indications point to the fact that the **Paramāras** were connected with **Gujarāt**<sup>10</sup> in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king **Bhōja** in **Gujarāt** and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of **Sāhavāhana** who was among other kings subdued by **Bhōjadēva** with the help of **Śūrāditya**. **Sāhavāhana** no doubt stands for the word **Chāhamāna** as the change

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp 182 ff

<sup>2</sup> From a MS of *Rājamarigāṅka*

<sup>3</sup> From a MS of *Amtagati's Subhāshitaratnasandoha*

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, p 48

<sup>5</sup> *Kielhorn's* List No 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p 201

<sup>6</sup> Above Vol. XIX, pp 241 ff

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp 178 ff

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of **Chaitra**, must be confined to V S 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp 322 ff

<sup>10</sup> In fact I am led to believe that the **Paramāras** had no footing in **Mālwa** before about V S 1027, a short time before **Siyaka** sacked **Mānyakhēṭa** as is known from the *Paryalachchhī Namamālā* of **Dhanapāla**, since the **Pratāp** inscription of **Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla** of V S 1003 shows that **Mālwa** was governed by a **Pratihāra** governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p 177.



of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nādol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālwa, Chāhamāna Śōbhita, son of Lakshmana is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription<sup>1</sup> which showed that he had defeated Vākpati Muñja, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Śōbhita's son, Balirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muñjarāja.<sup>2</sup> Chāhamāna Anahilla of the same family is said to have slain Sādha, a general of king Bhōja.<sup>3</sup> To avenge this defeat and death of his *dandanāyaka* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravanabhadrā family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanauj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanauj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanauj were sovereign lords of Gujārāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wadhvān plates of Mahīpāla<sup>4</sup> and the Ūnā plates of Mahēndrapāla.<sup>5</sup> In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers<sup>6</sup> like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujārāt. The name Śravanabhadrā of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uttamabhadrā family of Śāka Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscription.<sup>7</sup>

The reason why this grant though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief<sup>8</sup> of *Garuda* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kalavana plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuda* and snake seal of the Paramāras.<sup>9</sup> It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on **Monday, the Amāvāsya (soma-parvan) day of the month of Mārgasīras in the year 1103** of Vikramāditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably **Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D.** taking the month as the *Pūrnimānta* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933  
BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakhneśvar (Lakshman-ēśvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed<sup>10</sup> before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½" high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 308

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vols. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 68

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 1

<sup>6</sup> In a number of plates found of this period the donees are said to have migrated from *Madhyadēsa*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Narwal plates of Vākpati Muñja contain references to Śravanabhadrā as a locality from which certain Brahman donees originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmins in the same grant end in—*āditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravanabhadrā, that may have settled in Malwa.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Similarly the Kalavana plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuda* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 226

<sup>10</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 52 f., *PRAS* W. C., 1903-04, pp. 53 f., Hualal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

**characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A D The **language** is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om namah Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse The verses are all numbered, their total being 44 The **orthography** does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *v* and *b* have not been distinguished

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadēva III It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong The next verse brings in the princes of the Harihara lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Lankā" In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kalingarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating Bankēśvara or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tummāna He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala**, **Ratnadēva (I)** and **Prithvidēva (I)** Verse 6 speaks of Prithvidēva's son, **Jājalladēva (I)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of Suvarnapura In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II)** who defeated the king **Chōlaganga**, the lord of Kalingadēśa His son was **Prithvidēva (II)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jatēśvara** (vv 9-10) His son was **Jājalladēva (II)** (vv 11-12) After his death his elder brother (?) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v 13) The next verse (v 14) speaks of the able rule of this king Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvī** Their son was **Ratnadēva (III)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv 16-19)

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof D R Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l 15 It gives the pedigree of Gangādhara, a minister of Ratnadēva (III) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds There was one Dēvadhara belonging to Kāśyapa *gōtra* His son was [Rāja]dēva The name of his wife occurs in l 16 but is now not quite legible Probably her name was Jivā They had a son named Gangādhara who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadēva (III) The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gangādhara's virtues and records his benefactions It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadēva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gangādhara, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadēva made his kingdom free from all foes Gangādhara had two wives named Rānmā (?) and Padmā The former gave birth to two sons Piada and Jijāka while the latter had one son born to her named Khadgasimha Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gangādhara He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the Lakhneśvar temple at Kharod where the inscription is found To the south of this temple he constructed a *matha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *mandapa* for Śauri (Vishnu) On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, he constructed a temple of Ēkavīrā which resembled a *Pushpaka*<sup>2</sup> In the forest of Vadada (*vanē Vadadē*)<sup>3</sup> he built a *mandapa* for 'the enemy of the

<sup>1</sup> PRAS WC, 1903 04, pp 53 f

<sup>2</sup> For a description of *Pushpaka* see P K Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp 113 14 [The temple of Ēkavīrā still exists on a hill to the west of Ratanpur—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar reads *Nevadade* and *Hiralal Panavade*.

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortress (*durga*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuntā (= Dhundhī<sup>2</sup>)-Ganapati. He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga<sup>(?)</sup>, Girahali<sup>(?)</sup>, Uluvā and Sēnā[da<sup>?</sup>]rā. Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyanapura and also a *sarva-satrī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *praśasti* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Haihaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jalhana<sup>(?)</sup>. It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātū who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeornarayan<sup>1</sup> and Malhār<sup>2</sup> inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the *Śrēṣṭhin* Ralhana who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikārī*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as **Chēdī samvat 933** without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),<sup>3</sup> the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. We know from the Benares Plates of Karnadēva<sup>4</sup> that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshtrakūta Krishnarāja II and the Chandēlla Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.<sup>5</sup> But according to the Amōdā Plates<sup>6</sup> of Prithvidēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karnāta, Vanga, Gūrjara, Kōnkana and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turushka and Raghu families'. The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turushkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripurī family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (*Śrī*) to his overlord Gāṅgēyadēva'.<sup>7</sup> This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.<sup>8</sup> The reference to Gāṅgēya's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karnadēva.<sup>9</sup> Again, according to the present inscription, Kalingarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōdā Plates of Prithvidēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripurī and the others were made petty chieftains and Kalingarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

<sup>1</sup> Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 122, No. 203 and *PRISWC*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgēyadēva in prosperity'.

<sup>8</sup> R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kshinōda* and *Gāṅgēya* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kamarpava, the father of Vajranasta.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. *Suvarnapura* of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bihār and Orissa from C P. But we are not aware of Bhujabala the ruler of *Suvarnapura* from any other source. *Suvarnapura* is mentioned in the Sonpur plates<sup>1</sup> of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva and the Jatesinga Dungri Plates<sup>2</sup> of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sōmavamśi rulers of Trikalimga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, *viz*, Abhimanvudēva and Sōmēśvaradēva.<sup>3</sup> This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gangas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōdaganga, the lord of Kalingadēśa who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarman Chōdaganga. The king Jatēśvara who was defeated in battle by Prithvidēva II is no other than Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōdaganga as we know from an inscription<sup>4</sup> in the *āsthāna-mandapa* at the Mukhalngam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal, were under the impression that Sōmalladēvi was the wife of Jājalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājalladēva II, Jagaddēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *ṛyāyān=asya* and not *=putrō* or *=sutō*. If Jagaddēva was the son of Jājalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagaddēva was the elder brother of Jājalladēva and thus the eldest son of Prithvidēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithvidēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagaddēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gangas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājalladēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagaddēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiralal. Thus **Tummāna**, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of Tumāna in the Lāphā Zamindari of Bilāspur. **Suvarṇapura**, as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. **Ratnapura** is the present Ratanpur and **Nārāyanapura** and **Pōratha** are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S W and 30 miles N E of Kharod. The name read as Vanavauda by Hiralal, I have read as *vana Vadada* which may be Balodā<sup>5</sup> near Kharod. If the reading **Sēnādarā** is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilāspur and Ratanpur. **Uluva** is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XII, pp 237 ff

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S*, Vol II, pp 52 ff

<sup>3</sup> B C Majumdar identifies this Sōmēśvara with the king defeated by Jājalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol I, pp 32 ff). Hiralal, however, identifies this latter Sōmēśvara with the Nāgavamśi king of Bastar. If Mr Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a *virūda* of Sōmēśvara.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol V, No 1044

<sup>5</sup> [Baloda, 30 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vadada of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vanē*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

In editing the Amōdā Plates of Prithvidēva I, Hiralal suggested that the term Vankēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an 'aboriginal local deity'. In Sanskrit and Prākṛit *vanaka* has the same meaning as Skt *vakra* and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the *Anēkhāthasāra* of Dharanidāsa. Thus Vankēśvara may signify Śiva and the word *īśvara* added after Vanka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archæology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India.

### TEXT

- [Metres vv 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 42, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 2, *Śikhariṇī*, vv 3, 30, 41, *Sraḡdharā*, v 4, *Bhujangaprayāta*, vv 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, *Āryā*, vv 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31, 35, 37, 40, 43, 44, *Anushtubh*, v 12, *Mālinī* v 16, *Mandākrāntā*, v 20, *Upajāta*, vv 21, 23, 24, *Vasantatilakā*, and v 22, *Vamśasthaviṇī*]
- 1 Ōm namah Śivāya || Kalyānām karōtu Parvvatasutā-pāni graha-prakra[mē]  
dēvah kēhī-kalā-nidhis=trijagatā[m] Daksh-ādhvara-dhvamsakah | yah kantha-  
dyuti-vāsasā jana-[driśā] — — — — — [Gau]rī-vakra-nirīksha[nāya]
  - 2 [vi]dadhē mugdh-ēmdū-dipa-tvishā ||1|| Kṛyād=vaḥ kalyānam niravadhi vidhātus=  
trijagatām samunmilan-nīl-ōtpala-dala-ruchinām sahacharī | ruchih kanthasy=  
ōchchaur=achala-tanayā-vakra-kamala-prasarppat-[saurabhyē tura-madhukar-ā-]
  - 3 — — — [tir]=iva ||2|| Jivātuh kairavānām=amrita-rasa-dharī(ras=) sūpakārah surānān=  
tārānām prāna-nāthah kusuma-śara-kathā-'dhvāyīnām Pithamarddah | ādarō  
dig-vadhūnām [pri]thu-gagana-sarō rā[jahamsas]= — — — — — nām śringārō — — — — —
  - 4 — — — [ra]-ruchir=abhūd=Atri-nētrāt=sudhāmsuh ||3|| Dhantribhujō, Haihavā[s=ta]sya vamśē  
va(ba)bhūvur=yasah prāpa yēshām=udāram | bhuja-jvā-latā-va(ba)ddha-Lamk-  
ādhināthah **Sahasrārjunō** vira — — — — — ||4|| [Śrī-Kōkalla-nripas ?]=tad-  
anvaya-bhavas=ta-
  - 5 t-sūnavō='shtādaśa khyātō [hy=ē ?]shu laghuh **Kalmānripatur**=vVankēśvar-ārā-  
dhanāt | Tummān-ādhipatih sutō='sya **Kamalah śrī-Ratnarājas=tatah Prthvi-**  
**dēva**-narēśva[rō]='bhavad=atah [kshōn-īśa]-chūdā-manih ||5|| [Jājalladēva-]  
nripatis=ta-
  - 6 t-sūnur=abhūt=Suvarṇnapura-nātham | **Bhujava(ba)lam**=ava(ba)lam chakrē nja-  
bhujā-va(ba)latah samikē yah ||6|| Āsīt=tat-tanayō nay-ōchita-matuh kshōn-īśa-chūdā-  
mani-srē(śrē)ṇī-sañcharana-[pravu(bu)ddha ?]-charaṇah [śrī-Ratnadēv-āhvayah] |  
lōlō-
  - 7 ka — — — — — darī-vi-rānta-v d ādhīrī-v k — — — — — p — — — — — su'ā vāsō rāśih  
pravū-āgranih ||7|| Yaś=**Chōdaganga** nripatuh Kalmānripatur = — — — — —  
ādhisam | samiti **Jatēśvara** — — — — — [kritak-Āśvayujō=ntikañ=cha(?)—] ||8||
  - 8 **Prithvidēva**-nripas=tatah samabhavad=an-mauli-[dē]s-ōllasad-ratn-ārchchir-nichayēna  
rañjutam=Umābharttuh pad-āvja(bja)-dvayam | jivā yēna **Jatēśvarō** nara-  
patih samkhyē sva-dōr-vvikra[manih] — — — — — ||9||
  - 9 Gand-ōdbhēdi-mad-āmvu(bu)-ni[rjita]-kari-tyā — — — — — vyājatah kim vāchvah sa  
jagat-travī-matha-krit-āvāsō yasas-tāpasah | yasy=ō[dvē]lana-kirna-bhūti-kanikā-  
ja[-na pamtē, śasi ?] — — — — — dhī-Him-ādri-kūta — — — — — ||10||

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol XX, p 77

\* *Svāmy-amātya-suhṛt-kōṣa-rāṣṭra-durga-balāni cha* These are the seven constituent parts of a kingdom







- 21 vi[kra]mam=anyā cha Khadgasamham=añjanat ||29|| Ālōky=ānēna vidyut-tatī  
taralatar-āsāra-tārūnya-[dadhnīm] Lakshmīm=a — ∪ m=ēvam cha [ji]ta-mrigadriśām  
pṛitim=a[py]=anganānām | — — — k ā[pta]yē [tat=punar]=iha sukritair=[dri]shta — —  
pta-vō(bō)dhād=ētach=chakrē navīnam sahaja-śubha-ma
- 22 tir=mandapam Bhūtabharttuh ||30|| Mathah kathōra-kāsth-aughair=atr=arv=  
ākārī dhīmatā | dēva-dakshina-dig bhāgē nivāsārthan=tapasvinām ||31|| Kāritam  
vistrīta[m] Saurī-mandapam<sup>1</sup> punya-kārinā | Gangādhārēna [dharanēr=bhū-  
shām]=ēv=ātisundarām ||32|| Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru pratīchyām Pushpak-ōpamam | akarōd=Ekavīrāyā mandapam giri mūrddham  
||33|| Mandapam vanē Vadadē<sup>2</sup> [Pu]r-ārātēr=vinirmitam | Hara Hēramvavō<sup>3</sup>=  
chakrē tatṛ=ariva vi[sa(śa)d]-ālāyau ||34|| Dēvī Durgā gṛham durgē Ravēh  
Paha[takē(?) purē] | Pōrathē bhavanam Śambhōr=a
- 24 bhramkasham=achīkarat ||35|| Ratnapurasy=ōdīchyām disī Tumtā Ganapatēr=asau  
chakrē | mandapam=asēsha-vāñchhita-phala dātūr=vighna-hantus=cha ||36|| <sup>3</sup>  
Saras=[Ti]puruga-[grā]mē nirmala[m\*] vikach-āmva(bu)jam | tathā Girahali-  
[grāmē] sphārām pushkarinīm=apī ||37|| ○○○○○○
- 25 kṛtam=amalam sarasīja-ruchīram sadā jagat-sēvyam | tāp āpaham=uru-harim=iva  
[U]lūvā-grāmē saraś=chakrē ||38|| Guñjan-muñja-madhuvrata-chaya chumvita-vika-  
cha-pankajām=akarōt | pushkarinīm=a[pi] śōbha[n]a Sēnā[dā]r-ā[bhī]dha-[grā]mē ||39||  
Misht-ānna-pāna-sampannā[m sa]-
- 26 rvasatī[m] vyadhād=asau | Nārāyanapurē pushpa-vātīkām=apī śōbhanām ||40||  
Yāval=lilāvatinām nayana-sarasīja-prānta-samsthō Manōbhūr=yāvan=Maināka-  
paksh-āvīla-chatula-chalad-vīchi-mālah payōdhih | chandr-ārkkau yāvad=ētau  
gagana tala-samud[d\*]yōtamānau prabhātas=tā
- 27 vad=Gangādhārasya pravara-guna-nidhēh sthairyatām=ētu kīrttih ||41|| Dakshō  
lakshana-nūna(rnna)yē kavi-kalā-sarvva[sva] viśrāma bhūs=chhandah-sundara-vu-  
(bu)ddhir=adbhuta-matīh sāhitya-Chānakya-yōh | khvātō Haihaya-vamśabhūh  
kavi-vrīshā yasy=ānujō Ja[lhana]s=tēn=ākārī Kumārapāla-kṛtinā [ch=ēyam ?]
- 28 prāśastir=mmudā ||42|| Aksharair=mauktik-ākārais=tēn=arv=ālēkhī kautukāt | [Nātū]-  
nāmnā samutkīrnnā śilpa-vijñāna-śālnā ||43|| Śrēsthinā Ralhanēn=ātra  
dharma-karm-ādhiakārinā | kṛtā kalā kalāpajña-jana-susruta-vu(bu)ddhinā<sup>4</sup> ||44||  
Chēdi Samvat 933 [||\*] Mangalam=astu ||

No 27 —THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN, A.D 988

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS

This inscription<sup>4</sup> is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantīśvarasvāmī temple at Udaiyārgudi, a hamlet of Kāttumannārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaishnavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ālavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called *Vīranārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam*, the same as the *Vīranārāyanapuram* of Vaishnava literature and our inscription further describes

<sup>1</sup> Read *Sauri*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre

<sup>2</sup> The metre is irregular here

<sup>3</sup> Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscripted

<sup>4</sup> No 577 of 1920 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21, part II, paragraph 31

it as a *brahmadēya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrahāra* founded by Parāntaka I Viranārāyana (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 1½'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla<sup>2</sup>, allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *n* are fully developed, but not so in *n*. Medial *ā* and *r* are clearly distinguished though not always, the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *r* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *pīrappanmārdum* and *māmanmārdum* in line 3, and in *ālōār* in line 7. Medial *ī* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *i* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *i* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Śrī* and *Vī* and in *nī* in *tannīr* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *mālar yanūrān* in line 2 and *nūrrorupatti* in line 6, the regular sign with the loop occurs in *Kottayūr* in line 4, *mūvaridum* in line 5, and twice in *Vennayūr* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramēūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *pulli* is not marked.<sup>3</sup> Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form, *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *r* is noticed in such forms as *vagal* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *mīy-pīdāgar* in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 14), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*vvananar*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Arāyan Bharatan *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavarāyan, the son of Nakkan Aravanaiyān *alias* Pallava-Muttarāyan, the lord of Vennayūr. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *mandapa* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmins. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama Chōla plates, the letter for *r* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *a*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side—C R K.]

<sup>3</sup> [The *pulli* is marked in a few cases e.g., see mangalattu *p* perunguri *p* peru<sup>o</sup> in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so—C R K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āḍitya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army<sup>1</sup>

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarmān**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Viranārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōman, and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhikal-āna*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōla 'who took the head of the Pāndya' (ll 12), the properties<sup>2</sup> of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll 2-3) were to be taken over<sup>3</sup> by Brahma-śrīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandraśēkhara-bhatta of Pullamangalam (l 4), the Sabhā (*iāṇqalum*) were to arrange, in co operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukāḍi Kilān (l 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa<sup>4</sup> (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *udappirandān* Malayānūrān), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *pidāgar* of Viranārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharatan *alias* Vvālagajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*palambadū*), two (*vēlū*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kalaṇṇu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pūrattādī** day, Bharatan gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantisvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A D 988**, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājārāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Krielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A D<sup>5</sup>. The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāndya', i.e., Āḍitya II, the elder brother of Rājārāja I, and its palaeographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakēsari of this inscription with Rājārāja I who began his rule in A D 985. In fact there is no other Rājakēsari in the period after Āḍitya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājārāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōla history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja

<sup>1</sup> [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

<sup>2</sup> See n. 1, p. 170 *post*.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *perattandōm* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as '*perattandōm*' in the sense of 'nominated' of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peratt*.—C. R. K.]

<sup>4</sup> The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsapāṇa Pañchavaṇ Brahmadhīrājan. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *e* preceding *ra* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rēvadāsa is here called a Kramavitta and has the *alias* Malayānūrān, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *śrī-mukham mērpattā* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription, and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malayānūrān of line 2. [The surname 'Malayānūrān' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

\* There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *drōki* followed by *ḥaz*.

- 2 Ravidāsan=āna Pañchavan-Brahmādhīrājanum ivan-rambi Paramēśvaran=āna Irumudi-chchōla-Brahmādhīrājanum ivagal udappiranda Malayānū<sup>1</sup>rānum ivagal=tambi-mārum=ivagal-makkalidum ivar-brāhmaṇam[ār]<sup>2</sup>-pērālum=1 <sup>3</sup>ramattam
- 3 pērappanmāridum=ivagal makkalidum=ivagalukku=ppillai-kudutta māmanmāridum tāyōd=udappiranda māman māmanmāridum<sup>4</sup>=ivagal udappiranda pengalai vēttārinavum=ivagal-makkalai vēttārinavum=āga ivv-āṇavar [muṇi]yum namm-ānaikk=uriyavāru Ko-
- 4 ttaiyūr Brahmaśrīrājanum Pullamangalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhattanaiyum pera-ttandōm tāngalum=ivagal kankāniyodum=ivagal śonnavāru namm ānai-kk=uriyavāru kudiyōdu kudipērum vīlaku virru=ttālattiduga ivai Kuru[kādi]-kilān-elutt=enru<sup>5</sup> i-ppariśu vara i-
- 5 śrīmukhattin mērppatta Malayānūran=āna<sup>6</sup> Pāppanachchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavittanum ivan-maganum=ivan-rāy Periyānagai-chchāniyum=i-mmūvaridum=āna nilam śrī-Vīranārāyana-chchatu[r]vvēḍimamgalattu miy-padāgai Dēvanmangalam=āna pattila nilam śrī-Vīranārāyana-chchatu[r\*]vvēḍi-
- 6 mangalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Vennaiyūr nāttu Vennaiyūr-udaiyān Nakkan-Ara-vanaiyān=āna Pallava-Muttaraiya magan Baratan=āna Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyanēn=i-nnilam paḷambadi irandē-mukkālēy=oru-māvum=agamanai-y=ārum=āga i-nnilamum=i-mmanaiyum nūṟṟ=orupatt-i<sup>7</sup>-
- 7 ru-kalañju pon kuduttu vīlai-koṇḍ=ivvūr Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhattārakar-kōyilūlēy=ivv=āttai Mēsha-nāyaṟru Nāyaṟru-kkīlamai peṟra Pūratādī āṇṟu chandr-ādityavat ālvār kōyil-munbu [Mūvā]yirattarunūṟṟuvaṇṇā nilaiy-ambalattu tannīr=attum brāhmaṇan=oruvanukku ni[śa]-
- 8 dam padī-nāli nellum=āttaiyattam=oru kāsum nīśadam padinaiyvar brāhmaṇan=unbaḍarkum=āga padināru ivarūlēy=aiyvar śivayōgika[-u[nn]avum vayittēṇ Araiyan Bharatan=āna Vyālagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyanēn i-dha[r]mmam rakshikkīnra mahā sabhaiyār śrī-pādangal=en-talaiṁēlana[||\*]

### TRANSLATION.

Line 1 Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (*addressed*) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīranārāyanachaturvēḍimangalam, a *brahmadēya* on the North bank

<sup>1</sup> Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā

<sup>2</sup> The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above

<sup>3</sup> A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cancel the second *maman*

<sup>5</sup> Read *kilān*.

<sup>6</sup> See n. 4, p 167 *ante*

<sup>7</sup> The length of subsidiary ū in nū is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā The letters *orru* and *to* seem to have been corrected from the original *ruru* and *to*

Il 1-2 Sōman , his younger brother Ravidāsan *alias* Pāṇchavan Brahmādhārājan, and his younger brother Paramēśvaran *alias* Irumuḍichchōḷa Brahmādhārājan have been guilty of treason as they murdered **Karikālaśōḷa** who took the head of the Pāndya ,

Il 2-4 We have ordered that the (*properties* ?)<sup>1</sup> (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyaṇūrān, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives , of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in law (*lat.* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law<sup>2</sup>—these (*properties* ?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained<sup>3</sup> by Brahmāsrīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandraśekhara-Bhatta of Pullamangalam.

Il 4-7 You shall,<sup>4</sup> in the presence of these (*two*) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price<sup>5</sup> and remit (*the amount*) to the treasury<sup>6</sup> This is the writing of Kurukādi-kiḷān When this (*letter*) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz*, Malaiyaṇūrān *alias* Rēvadāsa-Kramavittan of Pāppanahchēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanaṅgai-chchāni, these *lands in the pattu known as* Devanmangalam in the western *ṁḍāgar* of Viranārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (*of a vēḷi*) and six residential houses,<sup>7</sup> these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sabhā of Viranārāyana-chaturvēdimangalam by me, Bharatan *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyan, son of Nakkan Aravanaiyān *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyan, (a resident) of Veṇṇaiyūr in Vennaiyūr-nādu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold

Il 7-8 In the month of Mēsha in this year, on the Pūrattādi day which was a Sunday, I, Araiyan Bharatan *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyan, endowed these (*lands and houses*) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (*mandapa called*) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nilaiyambalam in front of the Ālvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantīśvarattu-Bhattāraka of this village, may get ten *nāl* of paddy every day and one *kāṣu* in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (*provided that*) among these sixteen<sup>8</sup>, five *śvayōgis*<sup>9</sup> shall be fed The sacred feet of the members of the *mahāsabhā* who protect this charity (*will be borne by me*) on my head

<sup>1</sup> The gap after *āga vvanāṭṭavar* and before *ṁḍāgar* in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *mu* Some word like *muṇ* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with (*properties* ?) No 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*drōhikal*) in the reign of Rājaraṇja III

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'of those who have married their children'

<sup>3</sup> [See *ante*, p 167, f n 2—C R K]

<sup>4</sup> The pronouns '*tāṅgaḷum*' and '*vaṅgal*' are at first puzzling, but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sabhā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n 1 I have understood *Kankāni* in its abstract sense, Though *Kankāni* also means 'superintendent, the meaning hardly suits the present context [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C R K]

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'

<sup>6</sup> That *talām* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following 'Nilamum viṇṇu pāndi kulāṣani mārāyar danda tālattu iduga enru śrīṁkam vara āka tonṇūru kāsū mārāyar danda tālattu vaittu' (No 553 of 1921), and 'Variyūḷṭa poṇ kadavar munninru iṇḍu puraijāyṇdu pōnamaiyil pōnār svam pōmaru pokkaruttu kacoppēṭṭu tālattu vaittu taravu kēṭka enru mahā sabhaikku kkaḍaiyidu vara' (No 579 of 1922)

<sup>7</sup> '*Aham*' and '*manai*' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-site' respectively in the Uttaramēṇṇi inscriptions of Parāntaka I

<sup>8</sup> [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C R K]

<sup>9</sup> See *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 382

## No 28.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V S 1120)

BY K. N. DIKSHIT, M A, CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Pālanpur by Mr Puran Chand Nahar, M A, LL B, of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ( $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ " ) plates joined together by a ring  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are  $7\frac{1}{8}$ " by  $4\frac{1}{8}$ " of which about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is  $\frac{1}{2}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh  $106\frac{1}{2}$  tolas.

The characters of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujārāt, who was encamped at Ilā, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varāṇvādā to a Mōdha Brāhmana named Jānaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Asavalī, to the south, the village Pādra, to the west, the way to Chhīmdriyālā, to the north, the field of Kēsava and Vālana'.

The date of the grant is mentioned as the **fifteenth of the bright half of Pausha in the Vikrama year 1120**. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana parvan* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausha and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired, nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A D while the *Makara-sankrānti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A D was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the **last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva**. According to Mērutunga in his *Prabandha-chintāmanī*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V S 1078 (1022-3 A D), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V S 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujārāt and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A D (circa 1080 V S). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhanpur<sup>1</sup> and Munḍaka grants<sup>2</sup> is V S 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala<sup>3</sup> temple inscription, where it is stated how in V S 1088 (1031-2 A D) Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mērutunga was from V S 1078 to V S 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shah temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V S 1119<sup>4</sup> can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Kariyadēva is given by Mērutunga as V S 1120, *Chaitra sudi 3 Śanau*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, pp. 193 ff.<sup>2</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, p 49<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp 48ff<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 137.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Karna's accession as given by Mērutunga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V S 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Karna are those provided by his Navsārī<sup>1</sup> grants dated Śaka 996 and V S 1131 (=1074 A D)

The writer of the grant was **Kēkkaka**, the son of the **Kāyastha Vatēśvara**, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukyas. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vatēśvara to be the writer of the Rādhapur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kēkkaka himself to be the writer of the Navsārī<sup>1</sup> and Sūnak<sup>2</sup> plates of Karna. The *Dūtaka* was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navsārī plates.

Of the **geographical names**, **Ilā**, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern **Iol**, a petty state in the Mahikantha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending *-ol* of place names in North Gujarāt (*e g*, Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of *pur*, through *ur* and *ul*. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Iol. I am unable to identify the other places.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausa sudi 15 ady=ēha kāla Ilā-
- 2 vāsita-śrīmad-vijayi-katakē samasta-rāj-āvali-virāji-
- 3 ta-mahārājādhirāja-srī-Bhīmadēvah svabhujyamāna-Dhānadā-
- 4 hāra-pathakē samasta-rāja-purashān<sup>4</sup> janapadāmś=cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty=astu vah samviditam yathā ady=ōtvarōyana<sup>5</sup>-parvanī Mahēśva-
- 6 ram=abhyarchya pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya-yasō<sup>6</sup>bhivṛddhayē Mōḍha-Brā-
- 7 hmana-Jānakāya Varanāvādā-grānē(mē) Pātū-satka-kshētrē | Vi-
- 8 vuka-satka-kshētrē cha iti hala trayasya halam 3 bhūmī<sup>7</sup>

#### Second Plate

- 9 śāsanān<sup>8</sup>=ōḍaka-pūrvam=asmābhīh pradattā= 'syāmś=cha<sup>9</sup> pūrva-<sup>10</sup>
- 10 sām(syām) Vara-Asavali-grāma-mārgah | dakṣiṇasyām grāma-Pādrām | pa-
- 11 śchīmāyām Chhīmdriyālā-mārgah | uttarasyām Kaśava<sup>11</sup>-Vāṇayōh
- 12 kshētram=iti chatur-āghāt-ōpalakṣitāyāh bhūmēr=asyāh pa-
- 13 ripamthanā kēn=āpi na kāryā | lisi(khi)tam=idam śāsanam kā-
- 14 yatu<sup>12</sup>-Vatēśvara-suta-Kēkkakēna | Dūtako='tra mahā-sām-
- 15 dhivigrahaika-śrī-Bhōgāditya iti<sup>13</sup> śrī-Bhīmadēvā<sup>14</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> J B B R A S, Vol XXVI, pp 252 ff

<sup>2</sup> Ep Ind, Vol I, pp 317 ff

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Read *purushan*

<sup>5</sup> Read *-ōtvarayana-*

<sup>6</sup> Read *yasō*

<sup>7</sup> Read *bhūmīh*

<sup>8</sup> Read *śāsanēn-*

<sup>9</sup> Read *syās=cha*

<sup>10</sup> *Va* looks like *da*

<sup>11</sup> Read *Kaśava-*

<sup>12</sup> Read *yastha-*

<sup>13</sup> The symbol after *iti* either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of *iti*

<sup>14</sup> Read *-Bhīmadēvah*



१ विक्रमराजसुत ११२० पोतशुरि १५ अशुदकाल उला  
 २ वामिने श्रीमहि रुद्रिक रुद्रक समन्तरा जावली विराजि  
 नमदा राजा विराजुशीरीम एवः सल्लसै नान कालरा  
 ४ दार पसकिस मन्त्र गुरु पुन वा नून न पयथा तवय  
 नसुतः संति विने य वा अद्यावु सो यण पर्वणि मारु  
 ६ र मरा र्चयि त्रा रात्न नथ पु ल्य य सा रुद्र उ यत्ना देह  
 द्य पजान काय वरुणा वा शयान पाद सक कवि वा  
 ८ बुक मरु कति न उति द ल व य मा द ल ३ न जी

१२ शास नाता द क सर्व मन्त्रा लिः म दहा संभ्र पू र्द  
 १० सा क रु ष अ त लि या म मार्गः रुद्र लिङ्ग सा याम ग द पा  
 सि ना यो ली द्रिया ला मार्गः रुद्र उ पं शी क र व त्रान ला या  
 १२ लि य मि ति च उ रा या रा प्र ल हि ता या रु त्र म र स्ता रु य  
 रि यं प्र वा क ता पि न वां यो लि लि न मि दे था स न रु  
 १४ य रु व द थु र सु न रु क क क व रु त का रु म दा सा  
 वि वि य द्दि क श्री सा रा दि य ७ श्री रू म दे वा



## No 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

BY N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr K N Dikshit, M A, Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr S. V Haldipur, B A, LL B, M B E, Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at **Haldipur**, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr K N Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about  $6\frac{1}{4}$ " in length,  $2\frac{1}{16}$ " in breadth and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 *tolas*.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a **rampant lion** facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli<sup>1</sup> grant of the Pallava king Vishnugōpavarman and the Pikira<sup>2</sup> grant of Simhavarman of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Śīyamangalam<sup>3</sup> excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I and the Undavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas<sup>4</sup>, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Undavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant<sup>5</sup>. Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr V Venkayya<sup>6</sup> that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Manne Plates<sup>7</sup> of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726<sup>8</sup>. It closely resembles the characters of the Ālupa inscriptions of Udiyāvara<sup>9</sup> in the South Kanara District which the late Dr Hultzsch has assigned to about A D. 800 and those of the Kovalavettu grant<sup>10</sup> of the Western

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XI, p 338 and *Ind Ant*, Vol V, plate facing p 50

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VIII, p 160

<sup>3</sup> *A S R*, 1906 07, p 232, f n 6

<sup>4</sup> Longhurst *Pallava Architecture*, Pt I, p 5

<sup>5</sup> Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p 33, the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishnukundins

<sup>6</sup> *A S R*, 1906 07, p 232, f n 6, see also above, Vol XI, p 343.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIV, plate facing p. 82

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, plate facing p 126.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol IX, pp 15 ff and plates

<sup>10</sup> *Mys Arch Report*, 1927, plates facing pp 106 and 107

Ganga king Śrīpurusha for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710<sup>1</sup> and who began to rule, according to the Dēvarahalli plates<sup>2</sup>, if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Annigeri inscription<sup>3</sup> of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kirttivarman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *anēka* (ll. 3 and 4), *arunūrvvaru* (l. 7), *ardham* (l. 14), *arunūru* and *agrahāra* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Ārda* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *ṛ* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Idēvetṭa* (l. 13), in *adu* (l. 16) and *itah-param* (l. 17). Initial *ē* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circular *i* sign (cf. *Lakṣmī* with *nivāsa*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways, when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. *purusha* and *guna* in line 3). In medial *ū* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ar* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talēkattu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Kar* in *Karkēya*, l. 2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ā* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *n*, *ṇ*, *b* and *l* which along with *kh* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *n* which occurs only once in *tenkanṇā* (l. 12) differs from *ṇ* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *ṇ* in *rāṇa* (l. 2), *ṇana* (l. 4), *rāṇēna* (l. 6), *gōṭṭaṇa* (l. 8), *ṇamali* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *peḷṇavasi* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (l. 5) and a second time in *kombe* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *talē* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India<sup>4</sup>. But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates<sup>5</sup> of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates<sup>6</sup> of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *d* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *du* of *paḍuvannā* (l. 12) and *ḍe* of *mūde* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *d* is not shown in *nda* of *Chandamahāsēna* (l. 5) and *ndam* of *karsapṇḍam* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *nd*"<sup>7</sup>. The Dravidian *r* as well as *ḷ* are represented in the record, the former in *arunūrvvarum* (l. 7), *Neydalgere* (l. 13), *nirvraga*, (l. 14), *nūṇṇirpattentu* (l. 15) and *arunūru* (l. 17) and the latter in *kaḷani* (l. 11), *Peramale* (l. 12), *Gārapālḷi* (l. 12), *alivōr* (l. 17) and *alēdorā* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *iḷdu* (l. 10) and *peḷṇavasi* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 233 ff and plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Below*, p. 204

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. VI, p. 41

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

<sup>6</sup> From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. K. N. Dikshut,

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 203

Mantrawādi<sup>1</sup> and Sirūr<sup>2</sup> inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Annigeri inscription<sup>3</sup> and the Kendūr Plates<sup>4</sup> of Kirttivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription<sup>5</sup> of Krishna I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit and Kanarese**. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in **Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language**. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhāgamān* (l 9), *-idān* (l 17) and *Vāranasvyumān* (l 18) is found only in early records like the Pattadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II<sup>6</sup> in which we find *dēgulamān* (l 2), *idān* (l 8) and the Bādāmi inscription<sup>7</sup> of Mangalēśa which has *uttodān* (l 3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *am*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *n* as in *gōtrānge* and *Panyārānge* (l 8). With this we may compare the datives *namvānge* and *odeyonge* found in the Udiyāvāra inscription<sup>8</sup> of Ranasāgara and Śvētavāhana, and *mūdkuryānge* (l 5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabhatta of about the 8th century at Bādāmi<sup>9</sup>. In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *n* takes the place of the dental *n*<sup>10</sup> (cf *Dharegīsānge* in the Udiyāvāra inscription of Prithvisāgara<sup>11</sup>). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kāsampalliyā* in line 9 and *Neydalgeriyā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription<sup>12</sup> of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf *Pongereyā*, *soaveyā*, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi<sup>13</sup>. The peculiar forms *vadagannā* (l 11), *paduvannā*, *tenkannā* (l 12) and *mūḍannā* (l 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ṇa* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *appange* (l 8) and *śūḍorā* (l 18), with which may be compared the words *apporoge* and *envodu* in the Lakshmēśvar inscription referred to above and *ulidorge* and *parāṇṣadorā* of the Pattadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II<sup>14</sup>. The adverb *ullappanam* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation<sup>15</sup>. The word *kalam* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhūti-ānubhūti* used in the sense of 'to be an continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhūti-ānubhūti* of the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, *me, those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy Vāraṇasī*, etc., occurs

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p 201

<sup>2</sup> Below, plate facing p 206

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p 162

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p 60

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant.*, Vol. X, p 61

<sup>6</sup> According to the *sūtra atas-chaturthyā-tritīyā-nusvāra-pūroḥ-pūnas* of Nāgavarma's *Bhāṣābhūṣana* R. Narasimhachar's edition p 28, *sūtra* No 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 13th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anusvara*. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p 20

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p 189

<sup>9</sup> It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarma in the *sūtras ānṛgh-ādēśash-śaṣṭhyā yathēśhjam* (*Bhāṣābhūṣana*, No 67) and *deṣṭy-āntasya vā svarē* (*Ibid.*, No 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, viz., Harpāla and the poet Bhuvanakaṭvira.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant.*, Vol. X, p 164

<sup>11</sup> On this word Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has kindly written to me as follows:—"Usually we have the adverb *ullanam* but here the form is *ullappanam*. May it be for *ullar-appanam*?"

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p 205

<sup>14</sup> *Ind Ant.*, Vol. X, p 164.

<sup>15</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp 18 and 19.

also in lithic records of an early period (cf. The Udiyāvāra Inscription of Vijayāditya) <sup>1</sup> The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *kolaguppe peljavasi*, *kānasoppu* and *vāral* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *kolaguppe* may denote a heap (*kuppe*) made up of the share due to the state on every *kola* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Java* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass, *peljavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (meadows of) straw. *Kāna* or *kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *vāral* means spoil<sup>2</sup>, and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *karsa-piṇḍam*<sup>3</sup> and *kombe-gārodam* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that *-entru* has been engraved for *-entru* in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala*<sup>o</sup> instead of *Gōpāla*<sup>o</sup> in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *hā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusvāra* at the end of the word *padeyam* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief *Gōpāladēva* who also bore the surname *Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya* (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as *Pallavarāja* (ll. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Karkēya-vamś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-purusha* (l. 2) might only indicate that he was connected with the *Kaikēyas* probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of *Chandamahāsēna* and that he was the lord of the city *Payvegundu*. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village *Kāsampalli*, (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (ll. 14-16), to *Singitale-Panyāra* of the *Hārta-gōtra* (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*ardha-dāna*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvāra <sup>4</sup>. As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri*, the *purōhita*, the *śrīkarana* the one-thousand and the six hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nādu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As *Kāsampalli* appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar.

<sup>3</sup> Since *karsa-piṇḍam* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*piṇḍa*). If so, *karsa* may be taken to be the *taḍbhava* of the Sanskrit word *karsha* (= *karshapana*). *Karsapiṇḍam* would then mean the *karshapanas* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chālukya king Pratapachakravartī Jagadēkamalla II (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915), the passage runs as —*tanna tohaya manneyavam kankey aya daya sarvv aya suddhi varsham pratr han neraḍu gadyanama piṇḍ adānvagi oḍambaṭṭu dhara pūrvvakam māḍi loṭṭu*. Here the twelve *gadyāṇas* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihole (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the 'five hundred'. The 'mahājanas of Chimchili' in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāshtrakūṭa record of Śaka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty-six' in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one thousand *mahājanas* of Lokkigundi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one thousand'.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchī who continued to rule till the Chōla King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A D.<sup>1</sup> The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchī and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chandamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chandamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhāvāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.<sup>2</sup> A Chandadanda of Kāñchī is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.<sup>3</sup>

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chandamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvakus<sup>4</sup>, probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsī. The wife of Krishnavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess<sup>5</sup> and Mrigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".<sup>6</sup> On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab<sup>7</sup> but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palæographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *biruda* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chandamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47, or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kirttivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Krishna I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by 'transforming into a deer the great boar' which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.<sup>8</sup> Since Krishna I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāṇḍak plates<sup>9</sup> and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhārāvārsha,<sup>10</sup> the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

<sup>1</sup> A S R, 1906 07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chandamahāsēna who was the king of Avanti and father of Vāsavadattā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Mys Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient India: Historical Tradition*, pp. 264 and 293.

<sup>8</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 391.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegundu can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Śarāvātī Peramale has probably to be identified with the modern village Heravali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda, and Taṇvalli may be the same as the present Tumboli, also close to Haigunda

## TEXT.

## First Plate

- 1 ॐ Svasti [\*] **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithuvī(thvī)-vallabha Palla-**  
 2 **va-rāja-Gōpāladēvasya Kaikēya-vamś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-pu-**  
 3 **rushasya anēka-guna-gan-ālamkṛta-prasēvyā-Lakshmī-nivā-**  
 4 **sa-vaksha-sthalsaya anēka-rana-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhañjana-ka-**  
 5 **ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayasya Chandamaha(ā)sēna-putrasya Payve-**

## Second Plate, First Side

- 6 **gundu-pur-ēsvarasya Pallava-rājēna dattah<sup>1</sup> [||\*] Mantri-purōhita-śrīkara-**  
 7 **namum sāsirvvarum arunūrvvarum sahitam tamra prasāda-paran=a-**  
 8 **pponge Ārida(Hārita)-gōtrajange Simgitale-Paṇyārānge Kāsampa-**  
 9 **liyā sama-bhāgamān chandra-sūryyar=ullappinam sarvva-viruddha-ra-**  
 10 **hitam Gōpāladēva[ri\*] kottar bhukt-ānubhuktam salutt-ildudu [||\*]**

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 **Mane-dānamum Palage-gantam modal-āge kaḷaniyum vaḍagaṇṇā sīme**  
 12 **Peramale paduvannā sīme Taṇvalli Gārapāli tenkanṇā sīme**  
 13 **Neydalgeṇyā ēri mūdannā sīme Iḍevettadā vaḍaga-**  
 14 **ṇṇā nīriraga ॐ Kolaguppe peljavasi ardham kānasoppin=ardham**  
 15 **vāral=arūham karsa-pindam nūr-irpatt-entu(ntu) kombe gāroḍam pa-**

## Third Plate

- 16 **ḍeyam mentu(entu) mūde jamali ondu ॐ Idu Gōpa(ā)ladēvarā da-**  
 17 **ttu itaṇ-param=idān=aḷivōr i arunūru bhūmi agra-**  
 18 **ha(ā)ramum Vāraṇāsiyumān=aḷidorā lōkakke salvār [||\*]**

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-6 Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpāladēva *alias* **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya**, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the **Kaikēya** family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakshmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of **Chandamahāsēna** and the lord of the city of **Payvegundu**

Ll. 6-10 Gōpāladēva, attended by his minister, the *purōhita* (family priest), the *Śrīkarana* (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (*mahājanas*) and the six-hundred (*nādu*) granted, free from all opposition, to **Simgitale-Paṇyāra** of the *Hārta-gōtra* who had earned his (Gōpāladēva's) favour the equal share (i.e., half) of the village **Kāsampalli** (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and the moon exist (This estate) was in (his) continued enjoyment

<sup>1</sup> Read *Pallava-rājasya dattab.*



[illegible]

6 11  
6 10  
8 10  
10 10

12
12
14
14



Ll 11-14 (*The portion granted was as follows*) —The house site and the rice fields beginning from (*the place called*?) Palace-gaṇṭa The northern boundary (*of this was*) the (*village*) Peramaḷe, the western boundary (*consisted of the villages*) Tanvalli and Gārapāḷi, the southern boundary (*was*) the embankment of the (*tank called*) Neydalgere and the eastern boundary (*was*) the lake on the north of (*the hill called*) Idevetta

Ll 14-16 (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *kolaguppe*<sup>1</sup> and *peḷḷarasu*, one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *vāral* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *karsa* (= *kārshāpana* <sup>2</sup>) <sup>2</sup> and a pair of eight *mūdes*

Ll 16-18. This was the gift of Gōpālādēva He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benares

## No 30 —TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS

By D B DISKALKAR, M A.

### A —Bantia Plates of Dharasena II [Valabhi-] Samvat 257

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished On the cover of the impressions the late Mr Vallabhji H Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school master of the village Bantia, in the Bāntwa *talukā* in the south-west of Kāthiāwār, in 1904 It seems that the late Mr Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharsēna (l 15) instead of Dharasēna as is usually found in the grants The symbols of *Jihāmūṛiya* and *Upadhmanīya* are used only once in l 15 and l 30 respectively The word *bhuktā* (or *dattā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhir=vasudhā* in l 30 The record is however generally free from mistakes

The record opens with the name of the place, viz, Valabhi from which the grant was issued Then as usual the genealogy of the Maṭṭraka family from Bhatārka, the founder, to Dharasēna II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II The donee is a Brāhmana named Dēva-datta, of Śāndulya-gōṭra and Maṭṭrāyaṇiya-Śākhā (l 20) <sup>3</sup> The propeftiz granted consists of a village named Bhattaka- (or Bhadraka) patra (dra <sup>2</sup>) in the northern part (*uttarapattā*) of Kaun-dinyapura in the Surāshtras (ll 11, 17, 18) The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmanas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l 20) The names of officers (ll 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasēna of Sam

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of these terms see above p 176

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *lombe gāroḍam* is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> The place of residence of the Brāhmana is not mentioned

252<sup>1</sup> The grant was written by Skandabhata, the minister for peace and war (l 31), and the Dūtaka was Chubbura (l 32) The date of the grant is the **fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha of (the Gupta-Valabhī) Samvat 254** (l 32) when there was a solar eclipse (*Suryaparāga* l 22)

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants<sup>2</sup> of Dharasēna II of Sam 252 In his grant of Sam 269 however the Dūtaka was a different person

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that **Valabhī** is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār The village of **Kaundinyapura** can be identified with Kodnār in south Kāthiāwār The village **Bhattakapat(d)ra** in the Surāshtras cannot be identified

Of Dharasēna II as many as twelve grants are known seven<sup>3</sup> of these are of Sam 252, one<sup>4</sup> of Sam 269, two<sup>5</sup> of Sam 270 and the remaining two<sup>6</sup> being fragmentary do not give the dates The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha in Sam 254 Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhī kings on the *amāvāsya*-day (mostly on the *amāvāsya* of Vaisākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record According to Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol I, part I, pp 220 f) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e., Vaisākha according to the *Pūrnāmānta* calculation) on **19th March 573 A D** which may be taken to be the date of the grant

#### TEXT.

##### First Plate

1 श्रीं खस्ति [1\*] वलभीतः प्रसभ-<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

15 पाण्डिवन्शीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजधर्सेन<sup>8</sup> कुशली सर्वान्निवायुक्तक . . . .

. . . . .

17 . . . . . वासये सुगद्वेषु

##### Second Plate

18 कौण्डिन्य[पुर]उत्तरपट्टे भट्टकपत्र(द्र)ग्रामसोद्वहः . . . . .

20 मैत्रायणिकसब्रह्मचारिशाण्डिल्यसगोत्रब्राह्मणदेवदत्ताय वल्लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-  
तिथिपंचमहायान्तिका-

21 ना क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कवसरिचिन्ति(त्स्मिन्ति)समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्र-  
न्ययभोज्यः पूर्व-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol XI, p 80

<sup>2</sup> See n 3

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vols XV, p 187, VII, p 68, VIII, p 301, XIII, p 160, *Shi and Pti Insors of Kathiawar*, p 25, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol IV, pp 38 ff and Above Vol XI, p 80

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 9

<sup>5</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol I(N S), p 66, *Ind Ant*, Vol VII, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> *J B B R A S*, Vol I(N S), pp 24 and 21

<sup>7</sup> As the text is practically identical with that of the Pahtana grant of Sam 252 (Above, Vol XI, p 80) only the most important portion is given here It may be noted that the names of *Bhaṭṭakapa*, *Draṇasūka*, *Dhruva* *sēna*, *Dharaṇa* and *Guhasēna*, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Read धरसेन

22 भुज्यमान[वृत्त्येह] सूर्योपरागे उदकसर्गण ब्रह्मदेयो निवृष्टः . . . . .

1

31 दिभि. [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि. तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।  
निखित सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतस्फन्दभटेन ॥

32 स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥ दू चिर्बिर् स २०० ५० ४ ।  
वैशख<sup>2</sup> व १० ५ ॥

**B —Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi-] Samvat 304**

Prof B K Thakore, B A , I E S (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhāvnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof Narasimhaprasād Bhatta of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ . They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhī plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhī seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhī grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, Khēṭaka-pradoāra from which the grant was issued by Dharasēna III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhatārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasēna III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasēna II of Sam 310<sup>3</sup>. The grantor king bears only the epithet *paramamāhēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuyaśas, of Ātrēya-gōtra and a follower of Atharva-Vēda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following —

(1) 100 *pūḍārvatas* of land called Kōlikā, ploughed by Kutumbī Gōmīyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākarakūpa in the Hastavapra-āhāra in the Surāṣṭrā<sup>4</sup> *nishaya*. The boundaries of the field are to the south, the village cattle-track, to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūtikā (with that of the village Amākarakūpa), to the east,<sup>5</sup> the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālāsika (?) of the Kutumbins Chārabhataka and Chandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Kariraka in the north of the Rōhīḍaka-māla adjoining the Arishtijikā-sthālī.

(2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbī Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kūlūpaka-pāṭhaka. It lies to the west of the field Avakṛṣṭi (i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions.

<sup>2</sup> Read वैशख

<sup>3</sup> It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 296 the names of the rulers between Bhatārka and Guhasēna are dropped. See above, Vol XI, p. 175 and J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol I, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land <sup>2</sup>), to the north of the field of Khuddaka, to the east of the field of Nannuvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhadāsaka (with that of the village Dabhaka)

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pādāvaras*, dug by Kutumbī Kapardiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the Khajjūri well, to the north of the field of Sōssaka and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Dabhaka

(4) Similarly in the village Hastihridaka in the *Sirāvātākāka-sthālī* in its southern quarter seventy superfluous (*ulbana*) *pādāvaras* of the field of Kutumbī Nāgūlaka, to the west of (the temple of <sup>2</sup>) Śāṅkarikā (*i.e.*, goddess Bhavānī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabbaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sauviraka, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the well called Sirdraha

The Dūtaka, who executed the grant was the prince *Sāmanta Śīlāditya* and it was written by Vattrabhatti, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhī) Samvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king)

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Samvat 292,<sup>1</sup> the latest date of Śīlāditya I and 310,<sup>2</sup> the earliest date of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya. Although we know that two rulers (*viz.*, Kharagraha (I) and Dharasēna III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers<sup>3</sup> and partly fills up the gap existing between Sam 292 and 310

The Dūtaka of the present grant, *viz.*, *Sāmanta Śīlāditya*, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya. The writer Vattrabhatti is mentioned in the grants of Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya at least up to the year 313. From Sam 320 to 330 his son Skandabhata succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anahila the son of Skandabhata. We know that another Skandabhata (probably the father of Vattrabhatti) was the writer of the later grants of Guhasēna beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dharasēna II from 252 to 270 just before Vattrabhatti. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years

The following places are mentioned in the record. *Surāshtrā* mentioned as a *vishaya*, *Hastavapra* mentioned as an *āhāra*, *Kālāpaka* mentioned as a *pathaka*, *Sirāvātākāka* and *Anishatujikā*, mentioned as *sthalis* and *Amākarakūpa*, *Dabhaka*, *Bhadāsaka*, *Hastihudaka* and *Chūtīkā* all these mentioned as villages. Of these *Surāshtrā* is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day Soratha denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in *Surāshtra* since *Hastavapra*, which is modern Hāthab<sup>4</sup> in Bhāvnagar State is said to be in *Surāshtrā*. *Kālāpaka*

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp 117 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol VI, p 12

<sup>3</sup> Very recently Mr. Gadre, the present Curator of the Rajkot Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Sam 297 cf. *Ann. Rep. Watson Mus.* 1931 32, p 7

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol LIV App p 40

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kālāvāda, 60 miles north-west of Porbandar <sup>1</sup> The other places cannot be identified

The expression Khētaka *pradvāra* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradvāra*) the city of Khētaka The use of the word *pradvāra* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk<sup>2</sup> grant of the year 290 as विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वलभोप्रहारहोम्बवासकात् It is also found used in a Gurjara grant<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 417 as भक्तच्छप्रहारवासकात् In fact, the use of *pradvāra* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiāwār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वलभोप्रहारहोम्बवासकात् सैत्रकाणामतुलब-  
लसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसत्तप्रहार-<sup>4</sup>

#### Second Plate

- 25 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदण्डोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-  
भिनन्दितशासनः पर-  
26 ममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन × कुशली सर्वानिव वथासंबध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो  
विदित यथा मया मातापित्रोः  
27 पुण्याप्यायनाय हस्तवप्रवास्तव्यान्नेयसगोत्राथर्व्वसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणविष्णुयशःपुत्र-  
ब्राह्मणमित्रयशसे सु-  
28 राष्ट्रविषये हस्तवप्राहारे अमाकारकूपग्रामे पूर्वोत्तरसीन्नि गोमियककुटुम्बिकृष्ट-  
कोलिकाक्षेत्रपादावर्त्तशतं यस्याघाटनानि  
29 दक्षिणेन ग्रामगोसरपथः अपरतश्चूटिकाग्रामसीमासन्धि पूर्वतः पाषाणस्थलिकाम-  
स्तक(कं) उत्तरेण चारभटकचंद्रवककुटुम्बिकेत्रं  
30 पालशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जिकास्थलीप्रत्यासन्नरोहिडकमालादुत्तरतः करीरकस्तकक्षेत्रं २  
तथा कालापकपथके डभकग्रामे  
31 उत्तरापरसीमाया कपट्टि(हिं)यककुटुम्बिकृष्टसीता अवक्वक्षिन्नेत्रादपरतः खुडुकक्षेत्रा-  
दुत्तरतः नण्णवकक्षेत्रात्पूर्वतः भडासक-  
32 सीमासन्धेर्दक्षिणतः तथात्रैव ग्रामे पूर्वदक्षिणसीन्नि कुटुम्बिकपट्टियकाट(कर्तृ)कक्षेत्रा-  
अष्टादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी-खज्जूरि [वापी]

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 18

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, Vol IX, p 237

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, p 82

<sup>4</sup> For the portion ll 2 24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates of above, Vol VIII, pp 180 ff, 196 ff

- 33 प्रचीहाया[.\*] अपरत. शोस्सकचेत्रवहादुत्तरत' खेलपाय्या-पूर्वतः उभकाङ्गे पुराण  
कगामिमार्गादक्षिणत' तथा सी[रावा]टाका[क]
- 34 स्यल्यां हस्तिहृदकग्रामे दक्षिणसीम्नि नागिलककुटुम्बिचेत्रोल्बणपादावर्त्ता सप्ततिः  
ग्रामीणनिर्मितशङ्करिकार्या[परत.]
- 35 खच्चव्यचेत्रादुत्तरत. सौवीरकसीमासन्धेः पूर्वतः सेरिद्रहवापीप्रचीहामर्यादाया  
दक्षिणतः एवमेतद् सोदङ्ग<sup>1</sup>
- 42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकीच राजपुत्र सामन्तशीलादित्य. ॥ लिखित चेदं सन्धि-  
विग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवच टिना ॥ सं ३०० ४
- 43 माघ शु ७ खहस्तो मम ॥

No 31 —THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II

By V VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B A , MADRAS

The inscription<sup>2</sup> published below is engraved on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarēśvara temple at **Pallavarāyaṇpēttai** near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the **Tamil** language and script of the 12th century A D. **Orthographical** peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōṇṇ kottu* (l 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōṇṇ* meaning 'palace' and *kottu* a 'division' or 'establishment'.<sup>3</sup> The word *agambad-nayāyam* (l 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace'. The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *turai* (l 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department'. In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Mun-ēval* (l 7) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundangal* (l 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman'. The term *ulvar* (l 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant'. The *ulvar*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the **eighth year** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Rājakēśari-varman Rājādhirājadēva** (II) and begins with the words '*kadal-ēlnda*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The **object** of the record is the grant of an *ulvar*.

<sup>1</sup> The portion ll 36-41 contains the usual privileges accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

<sup>2</sup> Registered as No 433 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIX, p 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there require great alteration.

<sup>3</sup> [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's Tamil English Dictionary —C R K]



regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirāmbalam-Udayāṇ Perumānambī** *alias* **Pallavarāyar** of Kāriṅai-Kuḷattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne, in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāndya refugee Kulaśēkhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśēkhara are detailed at length, and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Udayāṇ Ammayappan** *alias* **Pallavarāyaṇ** and the final grant of an *ulvan* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājārāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirili-Perumāḷ**, the son of **Neṇṇiyudai-Perumāḷ** and the grandson of Vikramaśōladēvar, residing at Gangaikondaśōlapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*pillāṅgal*)<sup>1</sup> were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājārājapuram along with the harem<sup>2</sup> from the stronghold at Āyirattal. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne Edirili-Perumāḷ<sup>3</sup> under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *udan-kūttam* and the *nādu* in the fourth year of installation.<sup>4</sup> Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

<sup>1</sup> The common term *pillāṅgal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *pen makkal* (l. 21).

<sup>2</sup> [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājadēva with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *vēḷ* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

<sup>4</sup> No 337 of 1914 from Madattukōyil in the Pudukkōttai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Śvāti', corresponding to A D 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, *i. e.*, in 1160-61 A D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Madattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Cuddalore district (No 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājadēva', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos 571 of 1907, *above* Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A D as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign, on the other hand there is at least one record (No 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A D, *i. e.*, about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāl to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāl was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A D 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttunga-Chōla III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga-Chōla III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,<sup>1</sup> Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōla country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttunga Chōla III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions '*Pū maruvira*'<sup>2</sup> and '*Puyal-vāyttu*,'<sup>3</sup> etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāl under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōla kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession<sup>4</sup> waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulaśēkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōla king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōla army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulaśēkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura<sup>5</sup> so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulaśēkhara<sup>6</sup> is stated to have stayed in the Chōla country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulaśēkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam<sup>7</sup> in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year, another from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu<sup>8</sup> near Madras, dated in the 12th year, and the third from Tirumayānam<sup>9</sup> in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

<sup>1</sup> Copper plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A D 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A D 1169 and that the Chōla country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōla hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (A R for 1917, para. 26).

<sup>2</sup> A R No. 173 of 1908, also A R for 1909, para. 50.

<sup>3</sup> A R No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see A R for 1913, para. 33, and A R for 1924, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōla general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvamsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

<sup>5</sup> Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S I I*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

<sup>6</sup> In this connection it may be noted that Kulaśēkhara sought help from his uncle, the Kongu king Kulōttunga Chōla, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (A R No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvamsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulaśēkhara from the king of Kongu. The chronicle states that 'Kulaśēkhara gathered together the forces of Tirmavela and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten Kongu and Vada Kongu' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

<sup>7</sup> No. 20 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S I I* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 188 ff.

<sup>8</sup> No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

<sup>9</sup> No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyar mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālangādu epigraph sets forth that Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan counteracted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pāndya on the Pāndya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu<sup>1</sup> mobilised his forces in his camps at Ūrātturai,<sup>2</sup> Pulaichchēri,<sup>3</sup> Mātōttam,<sup>4</sup> Vallikāmam,<sup>5</sup> Mattivāl<sup>6</sup> and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,<sup>7</sup> the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Īlam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ūrātturai, Vallikāmam, Mattivāl and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kādam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *lādam* of land from south to north in Īla-mandalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavanam-Udayān Ammaiappan *alias* Annan Pallavarāyan then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālangādu inscription states that the Pāndya king Kulasēkhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Īlam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vellāru the Chōla generals Rājarāja Karkudiyarāyan, Rājagambhira-Añjukōttanādālvān and others that were

<sup>1</sup> Parākramabāhu (A D 1153-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

<sup>2</sup> Ūrātturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūra (or Ūrā)-tōṭa and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name Sukarattittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

<sup>3</sup> Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulacceri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 83, V 17).

<sup>4</sup> Mātōttam is the Mahātuttha of the Pali chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapuram (S I I (Texts), Vol IV, Nos 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Turukkēdisvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja Īśvarattu Mahādēva in this village (A R for 1913, para 21).

<sup>5</sup> Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikkāmam about 5 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vāhikagāma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 83, V 17).

<sup>6</sup> Mattivāl may be identified with Mattuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch 60, V 34).

<sup>7</sup> The assistance rendered by Śrī Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālangādu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī Vallabha was the nephew (*marumagan*) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mittā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 59, *Ep Ceylonica*, Vol II). His father Mānābharana was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mānābharana was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulasēkhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāndya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchirrambalam-Udayān Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśekhara,<sup>1</sup> hinting that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king. It was therefore, decided to reinstate on the Pāndya throne Vira-Pāndya, the son of Parākrama Pāndya, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdavanam Udayān Ammayappan *alias* Pallavarājan was directed by the Chōla king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *vēli* of land in Rājārājan-Palaivanūr, according to the Tiruvālangādu record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayānam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvālangādu inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day, the Tirumayānam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunæ in the text of the Tiruvālangādu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvālangādu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayānam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the **persons** figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchirrambalam-Udayān Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāndya succession. From the Ārpākkam epigraph we learn that his father was Ediriśōla Śambuvarāyar. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchchirrambalam-Udayān Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar stands **Lankāpuri-Dandanāyaka**. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhalese army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāndya sought his assistance against Kulaśekhara-Pāndya. Before Lankāpuri Dandanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāndya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāndya country, and in forcing Kulaśekhara to flee from his kingdom. Vēdavanam Udayān Ammayappan *alias* Pallavarāyan who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchchirrambalam-Udayān Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyar are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *ulvan*, **Chēdirāsar**, **Vāpādhirāsar**, **Śingalarāyar**, **Nilagangarāyar** and the royal secretary **M.ṇavan-Mūvēndavēlāṇ** appear to have held office even in the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the **places** mentioned in the inscription **Kārigai-Kulattūr**, the native place of Pallavarāyar, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his work *Kārigai* in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kārigaikulattūr.<sup>2</sup> It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōttam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kulattūr, one near Tirukkachchiyūr in Kalattūr-kōttam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr kōttam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, Kandan-Mādhavan,<sup>3</sup> a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

<sup>1</sup> The chronicle describes Kulaśekhara as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulaśekhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1168 (Ārpākkam inscription) and that he was reinstated on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyanpēttai record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvālangādu inscription) he had been de-throned and Vira Pāndya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulaśekhara could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record **Jayankondasōla-mandalam** and **Gangaikondasōla-puram** are well known to Tamil epigraphy **Āyirattal** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Palamānēri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Vīrasōḷiyam*' of Buddhāmītra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples' **Rājādhirājaṅ-Kulattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyanpēttai which is known in inscriptions as Kulattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyanpēttai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general **Virudarājabhayankara-valanādu** was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayankara' of Kulōttunga-Chōla I.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT

- 16 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kadal-sūlnda Pār-mādarum Pū mādarun=Kalai-mādarum=adal-sūlnda Pōr-mādaruñ=Chīr-mādarum [amarndu vā]a]<sup>2</sup>
- 2 nār kadal-sūl puvi-ēlum pār kadal-pōl<sup>3</sup> pugaḷ parappa ādiyugam=en[na]<sup>4</sup> šōdimudi punaindaruḷ aiu-śamaiyamum
- 3 am-būdamum neriyil nīnru pārīpat<sup>5</sup>-Te[n\*]navaruñ=Chēralaruñ<sup>6</sup> [Śingala]ru=mudalāya man[navargal] tī[rai] śumandu van[d=irañ]i šē]vippa<sup>7</sup>ūḷi šengōl eḷu-p[ā]rum=inid=alippach=chem=po vī-
- 4 ra-simbhāsanattu Ulagudai-Mukkōkkilānadigalōdum vīrūrundaruḷiya Kōv-Irājakēsari=panmar-āna<sup>8</sup> [Tribhu]vanachchakravarttūgal<sup>9</sup> Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭtāvadu ॐ |||≡
- 5 Jayangondaśōla-mandalattu Āmūr-kōttattuch=Chirukunra nāttuk=Kārigaḷ-Kulattūr-Ku[la]ttulān Tīruchchīrāmbalam-Udaiyāṇ Perumāmbiyār-āna Pallava-
- 6 rāyar Periyadēvar Rājarājadēvar pērttu kōyī-kottum=āvark=kudirai-agambaḍi-niyāyam ullitta turaigalukkum mudaligal=āy mudaligal=ōpādi kāriyat-
- 7 tukkun=kadavarum=āy e[la]lā varisāigalum muṇ-ēval ullittu mudaligal perakkadava ērangalum perru nīnru Periyadēvar<sup>10</sup> tūñji-arulip=pillaiḷa[lu]kku oṇṇum irāṇḍum tīrunakshatram=ā-
- 8 gaiyāl Āyirattalip-padaivīdum vittup=pōdavēndip=pōdugūra-idattut=tiruv=antapuramum  
11 ārangalum ulli[t\*]tana ellām paṇgarittuk=[kūtti]k=koḷu-pōṇdu Rāja-
- 9 [rā\*]ja[pu]ra[t\*]tālē irunda ida[tukku] [sūl]da idan yaru migudi-p [ra]ttu uḍaṇ-kūttatt[ā] [rā]lum ellāk=[kalakka] [Śō]larājayat<sup>12</sup> tukku yē iruppār]  
kāranavarud
- 10 vēndip=purattu ellā adaiṇu kēdugalum va[rāda] idattu m lum paṇgarittu iv ....  
Periyadēvar eḷundaru[li] 13 n[ā]hlē tīru-abhi[shēgattuk]ka uniyā pillaiḷal iriyē  
[rukki]-

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III, p 152

<sup>2</sup> *Amarnduvāla* is another reading for *amarndu vāla* (No 58 of 1906).

<sup>3</sup> For *pol* some inscriptions read *sūl*

<sup>4</sup> Other readings are *ādiyugam vandaḍena* (No 20 of 1899) and *ādiyugam āmenna* (No 474 of 1905).

<sup>5</sup> *Vandū pārīkka* is another reading (No 20 of 1899)

<sup>6</sup> No 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Konganarum Pallavarum* No 465 of 1905 has *caṇṇāṇḍich-kēvippa*.

<sup>8</sup> No 20 of 1899 has *parakēsavarman, nma* in *panmarāna* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>9</sup> Some inscriptions have *Madurayum Ilamum koṇḍarūḷiya* in addition (cf. No 474 of 1905) *chāla* in *chchakravarttūgal* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>10</sup> The letter *ya* is inserted between *ri* and *ḍē*

<sup>11</sup> The gap may be filled up with the letters *paruv*.

<sup>12</sup> *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters

<sup>13</sup> The word *yirunda* may have been lost here.

- 11 rapadiyai pāittu [mu]n-nāhlē kāriyam irundapadi vi <sup>1</sup> ś[e]ydu Gangaiko[n\*]da-  
sōlapura <sup>2</sup> darulī iru[k\*]kīra pillāgalai . <sup>3</sup>yānam pannu <sup>4</sup>daiyār  
Vikk[ī]ramasōladēvar-pēranār
- 12 Neṇḍaipperumā[l\*]-tūmaganār Ediril[ī]pperumālaip=peri <sup>5</sup>[jī]-aruhna nāhlē  
mandai kavip[ī]pittu <sup>6</sup>dār-ānavārē ivarait=tiru-abhi[shēgam pannu]vikkak=kad-  
avarā[ga] <sup>7</sup>tu nālān=tirunakshatrattilē Rājādhirāja<sup>8</sup>dēvar e-
- 13 nṇu tiru-ā(a)bhishēgam pannuvittu udan-kūttamum nādu-k<sup>9</sup>onruppattuch=chellumpadi  
panni[vitt-arul]nār [i\*] mīgai śeyyādapadi[yum] pari[ga]rittū ivargal el <sup>10</sup>n̄n=  
chēiap=piddittup=pani alagid ā-
- 14 gach=cheyvad orupadiyum panu [i\*] Ilattān Pāndi-nāttilē padaigalun=kāranavar=  
ānāraiya[m\*] mīgudip <sup>11</sup>vittu i-nnādu kaikkollak=kāḍavan=āgap=pannina  
<sup>1</sup> <sup>12</sup> [P]āndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar
- 15 ta[m]mudaiya rājyam<sup>13</sup> vittuch=Chōlarājya[<sup>14</sup>t\*]tilē pugundu ennudaiya rājya<sup>15</sup>m nān  
perumpa[dī=ppan]navēnum=en[ru] ś[o]lla ivar Udayār <sup>14</sup> var perumpadi  
panna kada-
- 16 var=āgavum inda rājya<sup>16</sup>ttū[lē] pugun[du] [vandu] kaikkonda Ilankāpuri-Dandanāyakan-  
ullittāraik=konru Pāndiya[r\*]gal-i-
- 17 ruppāna Madurai-vāsālilē ivar[gal] talai taippikkak=kadavarāgavuñ=cholli ippadiellām  
vinnappa[n\*]=cheydu tiruvillam=ānapadiyē Pāndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar Śōlarā-  
ya<sup>17</sup>ttūl irunda nāhl ivarkku vē-
- 18 nduvanav=ellān=kuraiv-ara-cheydu parikarittu balattālum<sup>15</sup> arttattālum ursāga<sup>18</sup>[t\*]tālum  
Pāndi nādu kaikkonda tāñ=chonnaṇapadiyē Ilankāpuri-Dandanāyakap-ullittāraik=  
ko ru ivargal-talai
- 19 Madurai-vāsālilē taippittu Pāndiyanār Kulasēkharadēvar Madurai(yi)lē pugukaikkuch=  
che[y\*]ya vēṇḍuvanavum vaṇ [iyat]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai(yi)lē pugavittup-  
Pāndi-nādu Ilā-nād=āgād a-
- 20 padī parikarittuch=Chōla-rājya<sup>19</sup>m śenra-padi[kku] idāgat=Tondai-nāḍum Pāndi-nā<sup>20</sup>dum  
śellumpadiyum panu rāja<sup>21</sup>-kāriyan-kondu nīrvagikka=kkaḍava ma ku-ttan-katt-  
alai=ittu=k[kāri]yan=kondu-śeluttinapadiyē tamakku pi-
- 21 nbum i-kkattalaiyilē kāriyañ=chelvadorupadi kāriyan=kondu śel[va]ttā[l\*] nīrka [i\*] ivar  
viyādi-pattu nīriyē olindamaiyil ivar-virun[danga]lukkum makkaḷukkum ivarga[-  
virandangalukku[m\*] makkaḷukkam pen-makkaḷukkum tāyārkkum uda-

<sup>1</sup> The letters *nnappañ* may be inserted here<sup>2</sup> The letters *pura* may be inserted here<sup>3</sup> The letters *yadēvar tuñ* may be inserted here<sup>4</sup> The letters *nichchayit* may be inserted here<sup>5</sup> The expression intended was probably *nāḍum onruppattu*<sup>6</sup> The letters *lorayyu* may be inserted here<sup>7</sup> The letters *pōda* may be inserted here<sup>8</sup> *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters<sup>9</sup> The letters *Kulasēkharadē* may be inserted here<sup>10</sup> The letter *ba* is written in *Grantha* characters<sup>11</sup> The letter *sa* is engraved in *Grantha* characters<sup>12</sup> There is an extra secondary length after the letter *nā*<sup>13</sup> The letters *ttūlē elum* may be inserted here<sup>14</sup> The letters *vittu U* may be inserted here<sup>15</sup> The letters *ppon* may be inserted here<sup>16</sup> Engraved in *Grantha* characters<sup>17</sup> The letters *dattu* may be inserted here

- 22 nṇirandālukkum ival mak[kalukku]m ivargal-vargattārkkum Virudarājabhayankara-  
valanāttuk=Kurukkai-nāttu ivar-kāny=āna Chō[l]ēndiraśinganalūri paḷam=peyar  
tavir[du yā]ndu ettāvadu muda[l] antarāyam pāttam=utpada 1-
- 23 raiyilivāy vēru-pirinda Rā[jādhi]rājan<sup>1</sup>-Kulattū[r] nilam nārpadiṇru-vēli [l\*] in=nilam apu-  
bavikkumpadikku Javankondaśōla-mandalattu Mēṇmalai-Paḷaiyanūr-[nāttu]p=  
Paḷaiyanūr-udaiyān Vēdavaṇam-udaiyān Am-
- 24 maīappaṇār-āṇa Pallavarā[yaṇ n]i chchayit[ttapadiyāy apubavikkum virundangalil  
Śīrālattūrudaiyān-magalukku nilam mū-vēli[yu]m Ālnādudaiyān-magalukku  
nila[m] mū-[vēliyum ival]-makkaḷ v[āt]kaippa ngal<sup>2</sup> mūvarkku
- 25 pērāl nilam iru-vēliy=āga <sup>3</sup> aru-vēliyum Nerkunṇan-kūlār Kalappalarāyar magalukku  
nilam mū-vēliyum ival-makkaḷil Alagiyaḍēvanukku nilam mū-vēliyum peṇ [makkaḷu]-  
kku pērāl nilam iru vēliy=āga nilam aṇuvēli-
- 26 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāḷingarāyar-magalukku nilam mū-vēliyum makkaḷil Śēttā[n\*]<sup>4</sup>  
Tirunattamādi Virana[mbi] Dēvan(k)gu[daiyā]n-magalukkum ival-magalukkum nilam  
iru-vēliyum Rājarājadēva<sup>5</sup>[r]-virundangalukkum makkaḷukkum nilam en-vēliyum  
tāvār Vaippū-
- 27 rudaiyār-magalārkkum nilam vēliyum u[dan]-piranda pengalil Viḷivūrudaiyānukku pukka  
pennukkum iva[l]-magalukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga n[ilam] nārpadiṇru-vēliyum  
antarāyam pāttam utpada iraiḷi-
- 28 ittamaikkul||—ulvarikku eluttittār ||—Nandiyarāyar ||—Amarakōṇār ||—Kaṇakarāyar ||—  
Mūvēndarāyar ||—Jinattara[yaṇ]||— Viśaiyarāyar||— Puravuvāri-Śrīkaraṇa-  
nā[yakam]||— Śīrukudaiyān||— Kunṇāṇkūlān||— Kāṇūr-kūlavaṇ||— Nariyā[nū]r-  
Udaiyā[n]||—
- 29 Puravuvāri Śrīkaraṇattu Mugave[t\*]ti Inga-Udaiyān ||—Ārūr-Udaiyān ||—Tattainallūr-  
Udaiyān||— Śīrunallūr-Udaiyān||— ippadikku pirasādañcheyd<sup>6</sup>-aru[ḷina] Śrī-  
mugat-tukku eluttittār Chēdirāsār||— Vāṇādhirā<sup>7</sup> [va]rāsār
- 30 Rā [ja\*] rā[ja\*] Viḷupparayar ||—Śingalarāyar ||—Nilagangarayar||— Dīpattarayar ||—  
eḷudinaṇ tirumandira-ōlai Miṇavan Mūvē[ṇa]vēlān ||—

## TRANSLATION.

Ll 1-8 Hail ' Prosperity ' In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśaravarman  
alias the glorious Rājādhirājadēva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be  
seated along with (his queen) Ulagudai-Mukkōkkīlānaṭṭigal on the throne of heroes, made of pure  
gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth  
surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lakṣmī), the Goddess of Learning,  
the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as  
in the first yuga, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded  
by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (flourished), the five elements stood in their  
respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Tēṇṇavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śēṇalar  
(Chēras), Śīngalar (Singhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to  
him), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds,

<sup>1</sup> The word Rājādhirāja is engraved in Grantha

<sup>2</sup> The gap may be filled with the letters ṭṭa pe

<sup>3</sup> The word intended was perhaps Śēdan

<sup>4</sup> The letter sa is engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>5</sup> The letters dhi and ra are engraved in Grantha characters

<sup>6</sup> The word nilam may be lost here

<sup>7</sup> The letters Rājārāja are engraved in Grantha.

When Kulattulān Tīruchchirrambalamudaiyāṇ Perumānambī *alias* Pallavarāyar, (a resident) of Kārigai-Kulattūr in Śirukunra-nādu, which was a subdivision of Āmūr-kōttam, a district of Jayangondaśōla-mandalam, who had received all honours (*varai varai*) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of Periyadēvar (*i e*, the senior king) Rājarājadēva and the headship of the several departments (*turargal*) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (*high*) dignities attainable by the officers such as *mun-ēval*, Periyadēvar (*i e*, Rājarāja) passed away. His (Rājarāja's) sons (*pillargal*) (being then) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of Āyirattalī. And while they were moving, he (Pallavarāyar) safely escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to Rājarājarapuram.

#### L 9 Damaged

LI 10-13 protected them warding off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it (*then*) stood, (*was intimated to the king*) and (*having brought*) the princes residing at Gangaikondasōlapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Eḍirilipperumāl, son of Neivudaipperumāl and the grandson of Udayār Vikramaśōladēvar, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (*king*) under the title of Rājādhirājadēva in the fourth year (*of his installation*) and made the *udan-kūttam* (assembly) and the *nādu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (*he*) brought all (*parties*) together so that there might be no transgression. (*In this way he*) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

LI 14-24 While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the Pāṇḍya country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the Pāṇḍya (*king*) Kulaśēkhara left his dominions and entering the Chōla country requested (*the king*) to get him (*back*) his territory, (*whereupon Pallavarāyar*) represented to (*the Chōla king*) that Udayār [Kulaśēkhara]dēva should be made to get back the kingdom, that Lankāpurī-Dandanāyaka and others who had entered and taken possession of this (Pāṇḍya) kingdom should be killed and (*that*) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. When the royal sanction was obtained (*thereto*), he (Pallavarāyar) unsparingly did all that was necessary for (*the Pāṇḍya king*) Kulaśēkhara and guarded (*him*) during his stay in the Chōla kingdom, captured the Pāṇḍya country with (*the aid of*) his army, resources and zeal, and, as promised, killed Lankāpurī-Dandanāyaka and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of Madura, (*he*) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara into Madura, and by making him (Kulaśēkhara) enter (*his capital*) Madura, prevented the Pāṇḍya kingdom from becoming a Singhalese possession, and made the Tondai-nādu and the Pāṇḍi-nādu subject to him (*i e*, the Chōla), as was his own (Chōla) country.

When (Pallavarāyar) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (*i e*, after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (*during his lifetime*) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died (*Thereupon*), his estate, 40 *vēli* in extent, in Rājādhirājan-Kulattūr situated in Kurukkar-nādu, a division of Virudarājabhayankara-valanādu, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from Chōlendraśiṅganallūr after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāttam*, (*was distributed<sup>1</sup> among*) his wives, sons, their wives and children, (*his*) daughters and mother, (*his*) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by Palaiyanūr-Udayar.

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for



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Ll 24 28	Among ( <i>Pallavarāyar's</i> ) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d)	(a) to the daughter of Śīralattūr Udayan	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
		(b) to the daughter of Ālnāḍ Udayān	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
		(c) to the daughter of Neṇ kuman kīlār Kaḷappāla rāyar	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the three married daughters of (b) above		six <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>vēḷi</i> per head
	Among the sons of (c) above	to Alagiyaḍēvan	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the ( <i>three</i> ) daughters of (c) above		six <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>vēḷi</i> per head
		(d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāṅgarāyar	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the son of (d) above, unattamādi Virana- [mbi] Devangudaiyān and her daughter		two <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
	To the wife of Rājarājadēvar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyar from (d) above) and her sons		eight <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land
	To his mother	the daughter of Vaippūr Udayar	one <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
	Among his sisters	to the wife of Valiyūr Udayān and her daughter	two <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land

On the whole 40 *vēḷi* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāttam*

Ll 28-30 The signatories to the *uḷvari* (are) —

Nandiyarāyar||— Amarakōṇār||— Kaṇakarāyar||— Mūvēndarāyar||— Chīṇattarāyar||— Viśaiyarāyar||— The *Puravu-var* Śrīkarana-nāyakam are — Śīrūkūdayān||— Kuṇṇakīlān||— Kānūr-kīlavan||— Nariyanūr-Udayān||— The *puravuv* Śrīkaranattu Mugavetti are — Inḡai-Udayān||— Ārūr-Udayān||— Tattamallūr-Udayān||— Śīrunallūr-Udayān||— For the royal order that was issued, (*the attestors are*) — Chēdirāśar||— Vānādhirā [va]rāśar Rā[ja\*]rā[ja\*]viḷupparaiyar||— Śiṅgaḷarāyar||— Nīlagangarāyar||— Dipattarāyar||— (*This royal order*) is the draft of the royal secretary Mīṇavan Mūvē[nda]vālān ||—

## No 32 —TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA

By N P CHAKRAVARTI, M A, PH D, OOTACAMUND

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on **two incised bricks** which were discovered in 1924 by Mr J A Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā<sup>1</sup> The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

<sup>1</sup> See *A S I An Rep*, 1923-24, p 74

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of  $11\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ ". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{6}$  of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palæography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palæography the following points may be noticed. Of the initial vowels the lower portion of *a* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *ē* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *samskāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the letter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *ṛ* are slanting downwards and *ḍ* has a serif in the lower end. In *n* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period<sup>1</sup> and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *D* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *l* occurs twice in the document (cf. *khula-khula*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *ḥatantat*, ll. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of *sandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *vahrddhā* (B l. 6), *pūrvvakam* (A l. 14), *avakkrāntar* (A l. 21). *Sk* is frequently written as *ks* in A, e.g., *samskāra* for *samskāra* (A l. 3, etc.). *V* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *kubja* (B l. 19, A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (∩) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *cha* and A l. 30 after *iti*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *danda*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the books is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which as the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nidāna-sūtra* as well as its *vibhāṅga* or division

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the inscription of Tōramāra, C. I. I., Vol. III, Pl. XXII-A.

The *sūtra*<sup>1</sup> portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> while the *vibhanga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhanga* found in the Nidāna Samyutta.<sup>3</sup> B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptah*.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *nirōdha*<sup>4</sup> portion as well, but none contains the *vibhanga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No S 3, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No S 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *nirōdha* only. No S 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha*. No S 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *nirōdha* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *vyam samyak=prakṛter=asamskṛtā nīyam-āvahrā[nīr=iti]*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.<sup>5</sup> Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate<sup>6</sup> and the Kurram casket.<sup>7</sup> Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharōṣṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza<sup>8</sup> in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 6th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Pitakas, the text of the *Pañcacha Samuppāda Sutta*.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *āchaya* (i.e., collection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *nirōdha* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañchasamupade* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

<sup>1</sup> This has been shown in the text in italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhanga*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, pp. 1 ff., *Samyutta-Nikaya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc., *Majjhima-Nikaya*, I, pp. 190, 257, *Dvayaḍḍana*, pp. 300, 547, *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1, *Lalit Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*nirōdha*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta Nikaya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *paṭiloma*). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenberg, *Buddhism* (English translation) pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 155 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 276 ff., etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 200.

- 5 *syā mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya samudayō* [bha]vati<sup>1</sup> [\*] Ayam=uchyatē Pratyaya-  
samutpādasy=ādih [\*] Vibhangah katamah [\*] Avidyā-pratyayāḥ samskārah  
[\*] Avidyā<sup>2</sup> katamā | Yat=pūrvvāntē<sup>3</sup> ajñānam aparāntē<sup>3</sup> ajñā-
- 6 nam pūrvānt-āparāntē ajñānam adhyātmam=ajñānam va(ba)hīrddhā ajñānam  
addhyātma-va(ba)hī[rddhā] ajñānam karmany=ajñānam vipākē ajñānam  
karma-vipākē ajñānam Vu(Bu)ddhē ajñānam Dharmē ajñānam Saṃghē  
ajñānam<sup>4</sup> duḥkhē
- 7 ajñānam<sup>7</sup> samudayē ajñānam<sup>1</sup> nirōdhē ajñānam<sup>1</sup> mārgē ajñānam<sup>1</sup> hētāv=  
ajñānam<sup>1</sup> hētu-samutpannēshu dharmēshv=ajñānam<sup>1</sup> kuśal-ākuśalēshu sāvady-  
ānavadyēshu<sup>1</sup> sēvitavy-āsēvi-
- 8 tavyēshu hīna-pranīta-kṛishna-śukla-sapratibhāga-Pratītya-samutpannēshu dhar-  
mēshv=ajñānam<sup>1</sup> shatsu vā punah sparś-āyatanāshu yathābhūta sampratīvē  
(bē)dhē iti | Yat=tatra tatra yathābhū-
- 9 tasy=ajñānam=adarśanam=anabhisamayah tamah samrōhah avidy-āndhakāram=  
iyam=uchvatē avidyā | Avidyā pratyayāḥ samskārah iti [\*] Samskārah  
katamē [\*] Trayah samskārah [\*]
- 10 Kāya samskārah vāk-samskārah manah-samskārah iti | Samskāra pratyayam vijñā-  
nam=iti | Vijñānam katamat [\*] Shad=vijñāna-kāyāḥ [\*] Chakshu  
[r-vi]jñānam śrōtra-ghrāna-jihvā-kāya-manō-vijñānam [\*]
- 11 Vijñāna-pratyayam nāma-rūpam=iti<sup>4</sup> | Nāma katamat [\*] Chatvārah arūpi-  
nah skandhāḥ [\*] Katamē chatvārah [\*] Vēdanā skandhah samjñā-  
s[k]andhah samskāra-skandhah vijñāna-skandhah [\*] Rūpam katamat [\*]
- 12 Yat=kiñchid=rūpam sarvvam tach=chatvārī mahābhūtāni | Chatvārī cha mahā-  
bhūtāny=upādāya it=idam cha rūpam pūrvakam cha nāma tad=aikadh-  
yam=abhisamkshīpya nāma-rūpam=ity=uchaytē [\*]<sup>1</sup> Nāma-rūpa-pratyayam shad-  
āya-
- 13 tanam=iti<sup>5</sup> | Shad-āyatanam katamat [\*] Shad=adhyātmikāny=āyatanāni [\*]  
Chakshūr-adhyātmikam=āyatanam<sup>5</sup> śrōtra-ghrāna-jihvā-kāya-mana[h\*]<sup>6</sup>-adh-  
yātmikam=āyatanam | Shad-āyatana-pratyayah
- 14 sparśah iti [\*] Sparśah katamah [\*] Shat=sparsakāyāḥ [\*] Chakshuh-sam-  
sparśah śrōtra-ghrāna-jihvā-kāya-manah-samsparśah [\*] Sparśa-pratyayā vēdan=  
ēti | Vēdanā katamā | Tisrō vēdanāḥ [\*] Sukhā
- 15 duḥkhā aduḥkh=āsukhā cha || Vēdanā-pratyayā trishn=ēti | Trishnā katamā  
[\*] Tisra[\*]<sup>8</sup>=trishnāḥ [\*] Kāma-trishnā<sup>5</sup> rūpa-trishnā<sup>5</sup> arūpya trishnā  
cha | Trishnā-pratyayam=upādānam=iti | Upādānam katamat [\*]

<sup>1</sup> A has a mark of punctuation here<sup>2</sup> A reads *pūrvvāntē* and *aparāntē* here and in the next line<sup>3</sup> A reads wrongly *m=at*<sup>4</sup> A reads *manah*<sup>5</sup> A has the correct reading *Tisra*=<sup>6</sup> A reads *ity=avidyā*<sup>7</sup> A has a punctuation mark here<sup>8</sup> A reads wrongly *sparsah*



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- 16 Chatvāry=upādānāni [i\*] Kām-ōpādānam<sup>1</sup> drishtv<sup>2</sup>-upādānam<sup>1</sup> śīla vrat-ōpādānam ātma-vād-ōpādānam<sup>3</sup> | Upādāna-pratyay[ō] bhava itī [i\*] Bhavah katamah [i\*] Trayō bhavāh [i\*] Kāma-bhavah rūpa-bhavah arū<sup>4</sup>-
- 17 pya-bhavah [i\*] Bhava-pratyayā jātīr=itī | Jātīh katamā | Yā tēshām tēshām satvānām tasmims<sup>5</sup>=tasmimn(smīn)=satva-nikāyē jātīh sam-jātīr=avakrāntīr<sup>6</sup>=abhīrīrvittīh prādurbhāvah skandha pratilambhō dhātu-pratī-
- 18 lambhah āyatana-pratīlambhah skandhānām=abhīrīrvittīh jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]-rbhāvah [i\*] Jāti-pratyayam jarā maranam itī [i\*] Jarā katamā | Yat=tat=[kh]lātavam pālityam valī-prachuratā
- 19 jīrnatā bhugnatā kubja<sup>7</sup>-gōpānasī vankatā tīla-kālakā-chita-gātratā |<sup>8</sup> khula-khula-praśvāsa-kāyatā puratah prāg-bhāra-kāyatā |<sup>9</sup> danda-vishkambhanatā |<sup>10</sup> dhandhatvam mandatvam hānīh pari[hā\*]nīh<sup>9</sup>
- 20 indriyānām paripākah paribhēdah samskāranām purānībhāvah jarjarībhāvah iyam=uchyatē jarā | Maranam katamat [i\*] Yā tēshām tēshām satvā-nām tasmāt=tasmāt=sa[tva]nikā-
- 21 vāt chyutīś=chyavanatah bhēdō=ntara-hānīh āyushō hānīh ūshmanō hānīh jīvit-ēndriyasya nīrōdhah skandhānām nīkshēpō maranam kāla-kriyā idam=uchyatē maranam=itī [i\*]
- 22 Idam cha maranam pū[r]vikā cha jarā tad ubhayam=aikadhyam=abhisam-kshipyā jarā maranam=ity=uchyatē | Ayam=uchvatē Pratītya-samutpādasya vibhangah [i\*] Pratītya-samutpādasya ādi[m\*] vō
- 23 dāśayishyāmi vibhangañ=cha itī vō yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam [i\*] Idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=[ātta]manasah<sup>10</sup> stē bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhā-shitam-abhyānandam tī (dann=itī)||<sup>11</sup>

### No 33 — A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA

By P C BAGCHI, M.A., D es-lettres, CALCUTTA

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr Chakravartī is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptah*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhanga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhanga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof Tucci.<sup>12</sup> Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hēmarāja Śarmā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhanga*s: *avidyā*, *vedanā*, *trishnā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

<sup>1</sup> A has a punctuation mark here

<sup>2</sup> A reads wrongly *drishti upa*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A reads *cha* after this

<sup>4</sup> A reads *ārūpya*

<sup>5</sup> A reads *parihānīh*

<sup>11</sup> A reads at the end =*abhyānandam=itī* || *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptah*

<sup>12</sup> A fragment from the *Pratītya samutpāda vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu, J R A S, 1930, pp 611-623.

<sup>5</sup> A has *tasmim tasmimn=*

<sup>6</sup> A gives *krāntīr=*

<sup>7</sup> A also gives *kubja*

<sup>8</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary

<sup>10</sup> Read *manasas=te*

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Cordier, *Catalogue* p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Gunamatī is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Bstan hgyur*. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhanga-nīrdeśa* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-nyākyā* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 *Yuan li king* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nidāna-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripitaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Hsuan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ar yuan she kao lu* (Tokio Ed. p. 70b. 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan ling tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ēkōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripitaka Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang nu king*. The Ēkōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later—viz. the *Fang nu king*<sup>1</sup>. The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Samyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Samyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka suttanta and Samyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ēkōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravartī has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the *Desanā* and *Vibhanga* of the Pāli Samyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The *Desanā* consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nīrōdha*. The first part of the *Desanā* which deals with the *Pratītya samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nīrōdha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the *Vibhanga* portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Samyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jarā-marana*. Moreover the *Vibhanga* portion in the Samyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Samyutta text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nīrōdha* and its *vibhanga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Samyukta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Gunabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Samyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit original of the *Desanā* (the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and *Nīrōdha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasiā (ancient Kuśīnagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Desanā* shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yad=ut=āsmīn=sat=idam bharaty=asy=ōtpādād=idam=utpadyatē*, which occurs in the Kasiā and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli *Desanā* but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Samyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasiā texts of the *Pratītya samutpāda* and its *Vibhanga* than with the Samyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhanga*.

<sup>1</sup> Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546, Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 196 "Sūtra on a pastor".

<sup>2</sup> See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 347 and 382.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Samyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hiuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Samyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hiuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālamkāra* of Āsvaghōṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.<sup>1</sup>

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus —

Kurram text ( <i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i> ) <sup>2</sup>	Circa 100 A.D.
Sūtrālamkāra Text ( <i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i> )	Circa 100 A.D.
Chinese Samyukta text ( <i>Pratī</i> <sup>o</sup> and <i>Vibhanga</i> ) translated by Gunabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kaśiā text ( <i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i> )	Circa 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text ( <i>Pratī</i> <sup>o</sup> and <i>Vibhanga</i> )	Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Samyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhanga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*<sup>o</sup>, *Nirōdha* and *Vibhanga*) but its *Vibhanga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan li king* of Nanjo's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

### The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jēta forest with innumerable<sup>3</sup> Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

<sup>1</sup> The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *samskāras*, the *samskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *nāmarūpa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *samskāras* are suppressed, the *samskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *nāmarūpa* is suppressed, the *nāmarūpa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed." (E. Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> For a Prākṛit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, C. I. I., Vol. I, pt. 1, No. LXXX.

<sup>3</sup> [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men'—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals<sup>1</sup> of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well.<sup>2</sup> I will explain<sup>3</sup> it to you to day.

The assembly<sup>4</sup> of the monks expressed its willingness saying—‘ We shall all be happy to hear it ’

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the *Pratītya-samutpāda*? This being, it becomes, this producing, it is produced.<sup>5</sup> Nescience is the cause of constituents (*samskāra*), constituents are the cause of consciousness (*viññāna*), consciousness is the cause of individuality (*nāmarūpa*), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (*ṣaḍāyatana*), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (*sparsa*), the contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*), sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*), thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*), attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*), existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*), birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā maraṇa*). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties.<sup>6</sup> This is called the origin (*samudaya*) of all that is suffering (*dukkha-skandha*).<sup>7</sup> Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives<sup>8</sup> of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future, it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out, it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (*vipāka*) and nescience both in action and its maturation, it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Sangha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (*mārga*). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (*phala*).<sup>9</sup> It is nescience in all *dharma*s that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble<sup>10</sup> and good. It is nescience in what is black and what is white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese we have a word which literally means “origin”, “commencement”, etc., which is regularly used for *ādi*. *Ādi* is here used in the sense of “primaries” and *viḥaṅga* in the sense of “secondaries”. *Viḥaṅga* is translated in Chinese by “division”, “classification”, etc. It is here used in the sense of “secondaries”. So I have translated the two words as “fundamentals” and “derivatives” respectively. Vasubandhu in his commentary already referred to explains *ādi* as *uddēśa* and *viḥaṅga* as *nirdeśa*. The Kasiā text has *apachaya* instead of *viḥaṅga* as in that text the *nirdeśa* is described instead of *viḥaṅga*.

<sup>2</sup> Chinese *ku shen* ‘*ku*’ means “to the highest point”, “with perfection”, etc., and *shen* means “well”, “good”. The expression evidently translates Skt. *sādhu cha sushṭhu cha*. Before *sādhu* the Kasiā text has *apachayam cha* instead of *viḥaṅgam*.

<sup>3</sup> Chinese has literally—“To day by making distinction I will tell you”.

<sup>4</sup> [This does not occur in the Skt. text from Nālandā.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> This formula does not occur in the Pālī text of *Samyutta*. The Chinese literally means: “(It) relies on its becoming, therefore it becomes, It produces, therefore it is produced”. The Kasiā text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J R A S*, 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. *Śālistamba* ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71, *Prasannapāda*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor), *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> The Nālandā text *sōka paridēva dukkha daurmanasy-āpāyāsāh*.

<sup>7</sup> *Skandha* is used here in a collective sense, meaning “all that is comprised under *dukkha*, i.e., suffering”. The phrase *kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa samudaya* with reference to the *Paṭichcha-samuppāda* is very common in Pālī. See *Pālī Dictionary* (Stede and Rhys Davids), *sub verb*. The compilers translate the phrase as “origin of all that is suffering”.

<sup>8</sup> The Kasiā text has naturally *dharmāpām apachaya* instead of *viḥaṅga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*nirdeśa*).

<sup>9</sup> [This is not found in the present *Sūtra*—N. P. C.]

<sup>10</sup> [This pair of words stand for *kīṇa* and *pranīta* respectively.—N. P. C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*) or in the six sense-organs. It is nescience in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is nescience in the real nature of things, wherever there is no<sup>1</sup> observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, nescience and obscurity it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-samskāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manah*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*viññāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six —(i) eye consciousness (*chakshur-viññāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrōtra*<sup>2</sup>), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇa*<sup>3</sup>), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā*<sup>3</sup>), (v) body consciousness (*kāya*<sup>3</sup>), (vi) mind consciousness (*manō*<sup>3</sup>). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*) —(i) aggregate of sensation (*vēdanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*saṃjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*samskāra-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*viññāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

*Nāma-rūpa* is the cause of the six sense organs (*śaḍ-āyatana*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are —(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*sparśa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*sparśa-kāya*) consists of six —(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vēdanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds —Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishnā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds —sensual thirst (*kāma-trishnā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpa*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpa*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments —(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',<sup>2</sup> (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds —sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,<sup>3</sup> there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life it is birth (*jāti*).

<sup>1</sup> [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text —N P C]

<sup>2</sup> Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

<sup>3</sup> [Note the four words *saṃjati*, *avakraniti*, *abhinivṛtiti*, and *pradurbhāva* in the Sanskrit text, of which with this the inscription 'Bhagavato okramanti,' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p 325, No 98—N P C]



Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-marana*) Of what nature is the old age ? It is the baldheadedness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *samskāras*, and demolition of the body organs Such is old age What is death ? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (*vital*) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *skandhas* Death is the arresting of the product of time The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called *jarā-marana*

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependent production <sup>1</sup>

#### No 34 —ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN (II), THE SIXTH YEAR

By N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at **Annigeri** (or more correctly Annigere) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli Guntakal section of the M & S M Railway Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Dēvannayya, an officer of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha I <sup>2</sup> Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāni and the Hoyasalas it continued to be known as the *rājadhāni-pattana* or the capital town <sup>3</sup> Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultān Muhammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567 <sup>4</sup> In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyatātaka, obviously a Sanskritized form of the Kanarese name Annigere The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banāsankarī temple As it refers to the construction of a *chēdya* (Skt *chaitya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banāsankarī temple

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face But the king's name can be read in l 1 as Kīrtivarmma and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D., written in a neat upright hand Among initial vowels, the record contains ā in *āraneyā* (l 5), i in *idaṛa* (l 10) and o in *ond-* (l 4) Medial ī is distinguished from i by a small loop in the circle denoting the i sign (cf *geyd=ī* in line 8 with *chēdya* in line 9) Medial u is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf *Jēbulagēri* in l 7) The length in ū is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the u sign as in *ndū* of *gāmundū* (l 8) The e sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *talekattu* as in *ne* of *āraneyā* (l 5) Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh*, *ṇ*, *b* and *l*, (*n* alone being absent) all of which present early forms D

<sup>1</sup> [The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation — N P C]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VI, p 100 and Vol VII, p 204.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos 187 and 189.

<sup>4</sup> Same collection No 202.

is distinguished from *ḍ* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *n* (cf *ḍi* of *māḍisidon*, l 9 and *ndū* of *gāmundū*, l 8) The Dravidian *ṛ* is found thrice, in *ṛa* of *āṛaneyā* (l 5) and *idara* (l 10) and in *ri* of *nrisidā* (l 12), and final *n* is found in *°nāman* (l 14) The language of the record is archaic Kanarese Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (e g, *chēḍiyamān*=, l 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āṛaneyā*, l 5) and the form of the verb *māḍisidon* (l 9) The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ū* for the short in *gāmundū* There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiya*, i e, (*chantya* or Jain temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jēbulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain **Kondiśulara-Kuppa** whose other name was **Kirtti-varmma Gōsāsī** The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhuṇāman*) as stated in the last line The writer was one **Diśāpāla**

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kṛttivarmma-Satyāśraya** The title **Satyāśraya** affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of **Bādāmi** and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A D **Kirtti-varmma** of our record must be the second king of that name Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be **751-52 A D** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper plates of this king have so far been published Of them the **Pattadakal** pillar inscription<sup>1</sup> and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged **Ādūr** inscription<sup>2</sup> is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshtrakūta records, *v z*, the **Nidagundi** inscription<sup>3</sup> of **Amōghavarsha I** and the **Venkatāpur**<sup>4</sup> inscription of **Krishna II** Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental' This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aruṇattaneya* (i e, sixtieth), for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram aruṇattaneya varsham* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years But the present inscription and the **Venkatāpur** record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of **Kirtti-varman (II)** and to **Śaka 828** (which was the 29th regnal year of **Krishna II**) The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and **ond-uttaram** must therefore be interpreted in some other way The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-ōttaram*, *vz*, in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III, pp 1 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI, p 69

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII, p 212

<sup>4</sup> No 82 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926 27 The name of the king is wrongly given as **Amōghavarsha** for **Akālavarsha (Kṛishna II)**

conjunction with the word *rājyam* or *rājyābhivṛddhi*<sup>1</sup> *Ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-ōttaram*, denoting 'progressively'

**Jēbulagēri** mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Annigere

### TEXT

#### First Face.

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Kīrtti[va]rmma-[Satyā]śraya
- 2 śrī-prithu[vī-vallabha] mahārājā-
- 3 dhīrāja paramēśvara bhatārara
- 4 rājyam **ond-uttaram**-abhivṛddhi sa-
- 5 le āraneyā varsham prava-

#### Second Face.

- 6 rddamānam=āge Jē-
- 7 bulagērige Kali-
- 8 yamma gāmuṇḍū(u)-geyd=i
- 9 chēdiyamān=mādisidon
- 10 idaṣa munde Kondi-

#### Third Face

- 11 śulara-Kuppa Kīrttiavarmma-
- 12 gōśāsiya nīrisidā
- 13 kīrttana ⑥ Diśāpālasya h-
- 14 khitam ⑥ Prabhunāman ⑥

### No 35—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II, SAKA 805

BY N LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of **Soratūr** and **Sīrumja** both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. **Soratūr** (ancient Saratavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāla II and the Yādava king Bhīlāma has already been fully described by the late Dr Fleet on p 176, Vol XIII of this journal. **Sīrumja** which is three miles north of **Soratūr** does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at **Soratūr**, which I shall call **A**, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkatēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The **Sīrumja** record, which is called **B** in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

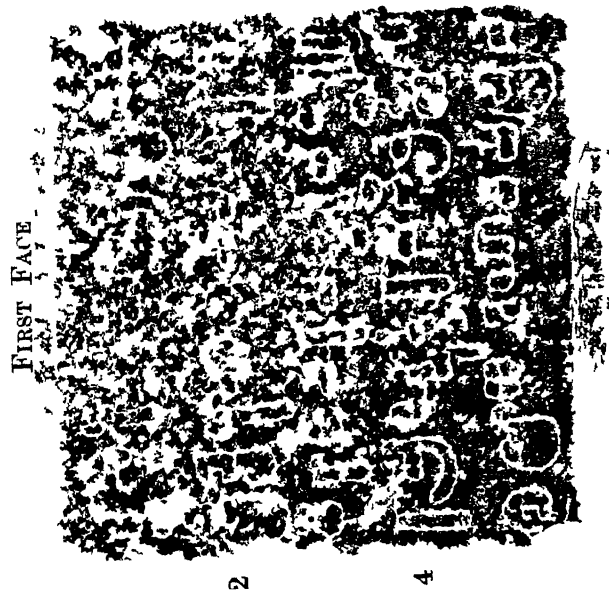
The alphabet is **Kanārese** quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes—the earlier form of initial *i* consisting

<sup>1</sup> This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *ond-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar-ōttaram* occurs—(1) Annigere Inscription (*rājyam ond-uttaram=abhivṛddhi sale*), (2) Nīdagundi inscription (*ond-uttaram rājyam geyyutt-ire*), (3) Venkatāpur Inscription (*rājyābhivṛddhiy=ond-uttaram sale*), (1) Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p 18) (*uttar-ōttara pravarddhamāna rājya pañchama-śrī varshē*), (2) Sīrūr Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol VII, p 206) (*pravarddhamāna-śrī varsham ayyatt eradam=uttar-ōttaram rājya ābhivṛddhi salutt-ire*), (3) Rōṇ Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p 185) (*rājyad=uttar-ōttaram=abhivṛddhi, ol*)

Noes 73 and 59 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN II — 6th YEAR

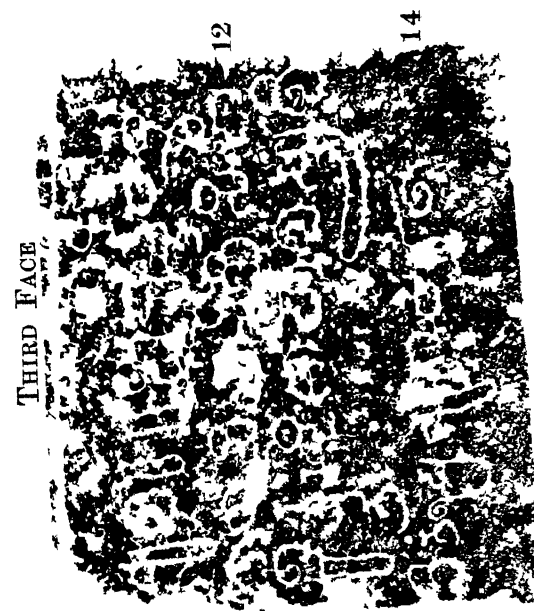
FIRST FACE



SECOND FACE



THIRD FACE



SCALE ONE FOURTH

NOTES ON THE SURVEY OF THE MONUMENTS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l 4 of A), medial *e* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *talakattu* as in earlier records (cf *mē* of *paramēśvara* in l 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigere* (l 5 of A) and *de* of *Pulide* (l 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *ṛ* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf *ṛa* in *raja* l 1 of A with *rāṇa* l 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *r* and *l* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigere* and *vidu* in l 5 of A and *mrisido* and *Pulide* in l 4 of B). The lingual *d* cannot be distinguished from the dental *d* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nādayisu* (assemble) from the noun *nādu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōsāsa* occurring in l 7 of A. Dr Fleet has suggested<sup>1</sup> that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōshtha*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soratūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *śān ābhivṛddhi* (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōsāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōsāsa* from *gōshtha*, it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōsigara Kōteyamma who is described as a *gōsāsi* in one of the inscriptions of Belāgi<sup>2</sup> in the Mysore State is described in another record<sup>3</sup> of the same place as *gōsahasram-āldam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōsahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription<sup>4</sup> as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*<sup>5</sup>.

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *ṛ* for *ṛ* in *śān-saka* (l 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramōśvara* for *Paramēśvara* (l 2) and *Indāpāyyā* for *Indapayya* (l 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri*, in *prithuvī*, (l 1) and *vṛddhi* (l 2).

The inscription **A** records the gift of a *gō* (cow) by a certain Citānṛa made in the presence of the Fifty (*mahā-janas*) of **Saratavura** who had assembled together when **Indapayya** was governing the *nādu* district. As we are told that Saratavura was situated in the **Purigere-nādu** the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigere. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Ereyamma in a cattle-raid at Navudi and the setting up of the stone by Gureyamma, the younger brother of Pulide-gāvunda.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of **Akalavarsha** and are dated in the **Śaka year 805** and A gives, in addition, **Śōbhakṛit** as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. Akalavarsha of the records whose proper name **Kannara-bhaṭāra** is also given in A is no other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Kṛṣṇa II**, the successor of Amoghavarsha I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol VI, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Mys Arch Rep* 1928, p. 152, No. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 151, No. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI, p. 255, f. n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.

date hitherto available for Krishna II was A D 888<sup>1</sup> The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha

Of the places mentioned **Saratavura** is the modern Soratūr where inscription A was found **Nivudī** has probably to be identified with Nigadī, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar

## TEXT

## A

- 1 (6) Svasti Śrī[ ]\* **Akālavarishā(varsha)** prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha)  
mārajādī(mahārājādhi)rā[ja]
- 2 paramēśvarā(a) śrīmat-**Kannara-bhat[ā]**rara rājy-ābhivṛi(vṛi)ddhi saluttum=i-
- 3 re **Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-sambā(va)**tsaramgal=entu-nūr-āydā(ayda)ne[ya\*]  
Sō(Śō)-
- 4 bhakṛit embha(ba) sambha(va)tsaram pra[va<sup>2</sup>]rttise **Indāpāyyām**(Indapayyam)nādān=  
āḷutt i-
- 5 re **Purigere-nāda Saratavurad=ā(a)**vvaḍimbarum=iḷdu nādayise Māna-
- 6 sigara-Chidā(da)nna[m\*] gōsā-
- 7 sam=iḷdo[m]
- 8 stan-ābhivṛiddhi[ ]\*
- 9 nama[h] (6)

## B

- 1 Svasty=**Akālavarsha** śrī-prithuvī(prithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara  
bhaṭṭār[ā]
- 2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivṛiddhige saluttum=iṛe **Sa(Śa)ka-varsham=enṭu-nūṛa**
- 3 **aydaneya** varsham pravarttisutt-iṛe [Kadalekadhi]pāṇṇā Eṇeyamma Nivudī-  
turugolol=kā-
- 4 dī sattom|| Ī kalla Puḷide-gāvuṇḍa[na\*] tamma Guṇeyamma nīṛisido ||

## No 36 —THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347

BY THE LATE MR R D BANERJI, M A

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Śilāditya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār They were sent for inspection to Mr (now Dr) D R Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year<sup>3</sup>

The record is incised on **two plates**, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper The ends of the wire are joined together by the **seal** of the Maṭrakas of Valabhī bearing the bull *couchant* and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhatakkah* The second ring is missing The plates measure 15" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar As the impressions taken in Dr D R Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p 189

<sup>2</sup> This letter *va* which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.

<sup>3</sup> P R. A. S W C, 1915-16, p 55, para 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiāwār

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *h* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *h* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhī grants such as the Alina Plates of Śilāditya VI<sup>1</sup>, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhī grants this record also mentions Bhatārka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhatārka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasēna, the son of Bhatārka's fourth son Dharapatta. Then comes Guhasēna's son Dharasēna II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Dērabhata who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvarittas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *palhaka* of Kalāpaka in (the country, of Surāshtra to a Brāhmana, with two names Śaggala and Prakāśa, who was a Dikshita, an inhabitant of Valabhī and an immigrant from Pushyaśāmbapura. He was the son of Śāmbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-gōtra and was a follower of the *Yajurveda*. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādāvarittas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were —On the east the *Brahmadēya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhāsiyaka and on the north the Vanśatikā river. A new word *prachchihā* which is also met with in other Valabhī plates<sup>2</sup> occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādāvarittas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were —On the east the field of the Brāhmaṇa ghañchaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmaṇa chatta, and on the north the rivulet (*Sārini*). The third piece was called Lusanikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādāvaritta* measures of land. Its boundaries were —On the east the boundary of the village of Kaṇṇasōmaka, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śīrādandaka, on the west the *prachchihā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vanśatikā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty five *pādāvarittas*. The boundaries of this well were —To the east the piece of land called *Lusanikā*, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śīrādandaka, to the west the *prachchihā* of the well called the *Pippala* and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Dhruvasēna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Dvirapati*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Santhi*-

<sup>1</sup> C I I, Vol III, pp 173 ff

<sup>2</sup> Cf the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J B, B R A S (NS), Vol I, p 74, l 49, and above, p 184



*engrādhakṛta* the illustrious Skandabhata The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha corresponding to 666-67 A D The donor Śilāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II With the exception of Valabhī and Surāshtra, which are represented by modern Walā and Sorath in Kāthiāwār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates

## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> Svasti[|\*] Vijaya-skandhāvāra[t\*] Pundhikanaka-vāsakā[t\*] prasabha-pranat-  
āmītrānām Maītrakānām<sup>2</sup>..... .. . . .

## Second Plate

- 47 . . . . . mushnann=abhimukhānām=āyunshī dvishatām Paramamāhēs-  
varah śrī-Śilādityah-kuśalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samviditam  
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitrōh puny-āpyāyanāya Pushyaśāmbapura-vinirgatta-tach-  
chāturvīdyā-sāmānya-śrī-Valabhī-vāstavya-Kausika-sagōtra-Adhvaryu-sabrahmachārī-  
49 Brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Saggala-Prakāśa-dvināma-Dikshītāya Surāshtrēshu  
Ka(ā)lāpaka-pathakē Kukkapadra-grāmē bhū-pādāvartta-śata-parimānam  
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvasthitam kshētram yatra prathama-khaṇḍam apara-sīmni tri-saptatī-  
bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam yasy=āghātānāni pūrvvatah upādhyāya-brahma-  
dēya-kshētram dakṣiṇatah  
51 rājakiya-vāpī-traya-prachchihā aparatah [Bhāṣiyaka]-kshētram uttaratah Vanśa-  
tikā nadī tathā dvitīya-khaṇḍam apara-dakshina-sīmni Bappula-samjñitam  
dvādaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam  
52 yasya pūrvvatah Brāhmaṇa-Ghañchaka-satka-kshētram dakṣiṇatah Brāhmaṇa-  
Tatta-kshētram aparatah Brāhmaṇa-Chatta-satka-kshētram uttaratah sārini  
tathā pūrvva-sīmni  
53 tri(tri)tiya-khaṇḍam Lūsanika-samjñitam pañchadaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimānam yasya  
pūrvvatah Kaṇnasōmaka-grāma-simā dakṣiṇatah Śrādaṇḍaka-samjñita-vāpīnā  
prachchihā  
54 aparatah Dhōrika-samjñita-vāpī-prachchihā uttaratah Vanśatikā nadī tathā  
ētat-sīmny=ēva Dhōrika=samjñitā pañcha-vinsatī-bhū-pādāvartta-parisārā vāpī  
55 yasyāh pūrvvatah Lūsanikā-samjñita-kshētra-khaṇḍam dakṣiṇatah Śrādaṇḍaka-  
samjñita-vāpīnā<sup>3</sup> prachchihā aparatah Pippala-vāpī prachchihā uttaratah  
56 grāma-śikhara ēvam=idam=āghātana-vīśuddham vāpī-kshētram sōdrangam sōparikaram  
sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyam sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyam sa-daśāparādham sōtpadya-  
māna-vi-  
57 shtikam sarvva-rājakiyānām=ahasta-prakshēya(pa)ñiyam pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahma-  
dēya-rahitam bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-ārṇava-kshiti-sarit-pūrvvata-  
sama-kālinam pu-

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śilāditya III, cf., for example, Lunsadi plates, above, Vol IV, pp 76 ff

<sup>3</sup> [The termination *na* after *vāpī* may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit *vāṇ*, in which case Śira and Dandaka may be two separate wells, or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati genitive term *naṭh*—*naṭh*.]

- 58 tra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam=udak-ātisaggēna<sup>1</sup> dharmma-dāyō nispūṣṭaḥ yatō=sy-  
ōchitavā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuñjataḥ kṛṣhataḥ karshayataḥ pratidīśatō  
vā na kaśchid=vyasēdhē
- 59 varttatavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛpatibhir=apy=asmad-vanśajair=anyair=vvā anityāny=  
aśvāryāny=asthīram mānushyam sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagach-  
chhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyah paṇipālayitavya-
- 60 ś=ch=ēty=uktañ=cha[ [\* ] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabh[ s ]=Sagar-ādibhir-  
[ h ][\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam|| Yān=iha  
dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrar=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatani-kṛtāni [\*] nṛbbhukta-  
mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 ma sādhuḥ=punar=ādadīta || Shashti[m] varsha-sahasrāni svarggē tishthati  
bhūmidah [ [\*] āchehettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vassēt<sup>2</sup> [||\*]  
Dūtākō=tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasēnah||
- 62 Likhitam=idam Sandhivigrah-ādhikṛta-Divirapati-śrī-Skandabhata-putra-Divirapati-  
Śrīmad-Anahilēn=ēti || Sam :00 40 7 Vaisākha-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

## No 37 —SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULY, M.A., PH.D., BENARES

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasēna, the fourth king of the Sēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anuha copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpanighi copper plate, and the Madhanagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasēna's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chandī, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Srīva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya-Parishat who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramesh Basu in the Bengal magazine conducted by the Sāhitya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216 ff). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bangiya Sāhitya-Parishat.<sup>3</sup>

This is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Sadāsiva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *visā-thāyām*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *vrajēt*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *annamayēna* in line 46 are indistinct.

<sup>1</sup> Read *ātisarggēna*<sup>2</sup> Read *vassēt*<sup>3</sup> I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., and Mr. B. G. Basak, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The **characters** are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmanasēna's grants. *K, t, n, m, y, v* and *sh* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (cf. ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *nd*, and *tth*.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *ōm namō, etc.*, at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards **orthography**, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *dukkha* is written as *dukha* (l. 3) as in the Anulia plate. *Tripurārmātha* is written as *Tripurārmāha* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *svargga*, *°r=vasudhā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), *etc.* The words *buddhvā* and *dattvā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of **Lakshmanasēna**, the son of **Vallālasēna**, grand-son of **Vijayasēna**, and the great-grand-son of **Hēmantasēna**. The Deopara inscription<sup>1</sup> of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription<sup>2</sup> mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great queen). The Barrackpur inscription<sup>3</sup> of the same king designates Hēmanta as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmanasēna. But the Madhanagar copper-plate<sup>4</sup> of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauda, defeated the Kings of Kalinga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmārūpa.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmanasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *drōnas* of land, comprising a part of Nūmāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pātakas* of Rāghavahatta, Vārahakōṇā, Vāllihitā, Vijahārapura, and Dāmaravadā, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Madhugirimandala, attached to Kumbhīnagara, in the Dakshinavithī of Uttara-Rādha, in the **Kankagrāmabhukti**. The lands comprising Vārahakōṇā, Vāllihitā, Rāghavahatta, and part of Nūmāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikundā along with Aparājōlī, in the south by Bhāgaḍīkhandakshētra, in the west by the cow-track of Achchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pātakas* of Vijahārapura and Dāmaravadā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chākalyājōlī; on the south by Vipravaddhājōlī, on the west by Lāngalājōlī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajāna. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Kapardaka-purānas*)<sup>5</sup>. The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kshētrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*Kapardaka-purānas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayāl<sup>6</sup> Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kshētrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*lōshthīkritya*) the above mentioned six *pātakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kshētrapātaka.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

<sup>6</sup> [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gavāl or Gavāval Brāhman-- Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, *viz*, Varēndrī, Rādha, Vanga, and Samatata. Varēndrī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhī Division and Rādha comprised South-west Bengal. Rādha or Rādhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rādha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Bīrbhum District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *mandalas* and *vishayas*. The exact relation between a *mandala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature, most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *mandala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *mandala* were *khandalas*<sup>1</sup> and *vīthīs*<sup>2</sup>. The Nālandā<sup>3</sup> plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudasūtra-*vīthī* was within the Gayā-*vishaya*. The Naihati plate<sup>4</sup> of Vallālasēna refers to a *vīthī* which was within the jurisdiction of a *mandala*. This suggests that *vīthī* was a division of a *mandala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *khandala* and *vīthī* is not known. The division of *vīthī* seems to have been a *khāṭikā*. The Khalimpur plate<sup>5</sup> of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṭikā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate<sup>6</sup> of Lakshmanasēna refers to a *khāṭikā*. Between *khāṭikā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *ṛitta*. *Ṛitta* was divided into *chaturaka*,<sup>7</sup> *chaturaka* into *grāma*<sup>8</sup> and *grāma* into *pātaka*<sup>9</sup>.

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, *viz*, Paundravardhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Paundravardhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhī Division,<sup>10</sup> but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vanga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division<sup>11</sup> east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Bīrbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.<sup>12</sup> The Naihati plate of Vallālasēna,<sup>13</sup> issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (*circa* 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rādha formed a *mandala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmanasēna, issued in the 6th year (*circa* 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rādhā as situated within the Kankagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmanasēna's reign. The Kankagrāma *bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmanasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rādha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p 24

<sup>2</sup> The *Dēvipurāṇa* describes Mathurā as a *vīthī* (Chapt. LXVI, V 73)

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol XVII, p 321

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 74, l 38

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol IV, p 253

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 96, l 34

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p 112, l 40, p 146, ll 48 49.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* p 170 171.

<sup>9</sup> *Gauḍa Lēkhamālā*, p 135, V 29

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol XV, p 140, *ibid*, Vol IV, p 253

<sup>11</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, pp. 63, 137

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, pp 74, 97

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp 71 ff

latter *bhukti* was in existence in the 2nd year of Lakshmanasēna. The Ajaya which was the boundary between northern and southern Rādha must then have been the boundary between the two *bhuktis*. The Kankagrāma-*bhukti* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgalpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rādha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place Kankagrāma from which the *bhukti* took its name can be identified with Kānkjol (24° 48' N Lat 87° 48' E Long) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Bīrbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham<sup>1</sup> calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmaḥal and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank'. Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rādha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rādha formed part of the southern subdivision (*vitha*) of the Kankagrāma territory (*bhukti*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rādha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kendua in the neighbourhood of Kānkjol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Muhammadan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.]

The name of the ancient Madhugiri-*mandala* may be recognised in the present Mahuāgadhī, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,657 feet above sea level and situated about 22 miles to the south-west of Kānkjol and 20 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, **Kumbhīnagara** may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhāt P. S. of the Bīrbhum District. The river **Mōra** is the modern Mor (also known as Mayūrākshī) which flows through the Bīrbhum District. **Kumārapura** still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. **Vārahakōṇā** is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ½ a mile north of the Mor and 1¼ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōṇā* and *kundā* are changeable according to the usage in the Bīrbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Bīrbhum District probably represents the ancient **Vijahārapura**. Mr N. K. Bhattasali identifies **Nimā** and **Vāllihitā** with the modern villages of Nima and Balutī in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārapur. He also identifies **Achchhamā** with the modern village of Ammo in P. S. Suri, ½ a mile north of Sainthia and **Parajāṇa** with that of Palijana<sup>2</sup> a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Balutī are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern Kāṇā river, passing north of Nima and Balutī, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Sēna period. [Bārkōṇā would be a better equivalent of Vārahakōṇā and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupī in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Balutī, and the river Mor drags on its course at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

The Śaktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drōṇa*<sup>1</sup>. From the other records of the Sēna kings we know that several *drōṇas* made one *pātaka*. *Drōṇa* was again divided into *ādhaka* or *ādhavāpa*, *ādhaka* into *unmāna*, and *unmāna* into *kāka* or *kākinika*<sup>2</sup>. *Drōṇa* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "*nala*". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of Vṛishabhaśankara-*nala*. Vṛishabhaśankara being an appellation of Vijayasēna,<sup>3</sup> the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasēna refers to Samatatiya-*nala*<sup>4</sup>. The Govindapur copper-plate<sup>5</sup> of Lakshmanasēna which records the grant of a village in the Vardhamāna-*bhukta*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubēra was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Pṛithvīdhara and great-grand-son of Anruddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghatakas* (match-makers),<sup>6</sup> we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmanasēna three brothers<sup>7</sup> named Dēvala, Vāmana and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmāmśu, grand-sons of Pithō and great-grand-sons of Anruddha. If Pithō is a contraction of Pṛithvīdhara<sup>8</sup> (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmāmśu, the Kubēra of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dēvala and Vāmana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brāhman) from Lakshmanasēna but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hāsya Gāngulī, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from Vallālasēna.<sup>9</sup> The loss of 'Kulnism' does not however seem to have prevented the Brāhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Basu as Sam 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvana. Mr. Bhattacharya (with whom I concur) corrects it as **Sam 6, the 7th day of Śrāvana**<sup>10</sup>.

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmanasēna) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvana, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvana fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvana and in 1180 A.D. over three weeks after the date. **The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent** of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

<sup>1</sup>[*Drōṇa* is the same as *dronavāpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *pātaka* of the Sēna period was however a larger unit than the *kulyavāpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drōṇas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drōṇavāpas*—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 90, 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97; *tad dēśīya samvayahāra-shatpañchāśata(t) hasta parimāta nalēna*.

<sup>6</sup> *Bāṅgēr Jatiya Itihāsa*, by N. N. Basu, *Brahmanakhaṇḍa*, p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> [Cf. Pithorā for Pṛithvirāja.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the numeral "3" in the Anulia plate, l. 56, and in Sāhtya parishat copper plate of Viśvarūpasēna, l. 55, and the numeral "6" in the latter l. 50.

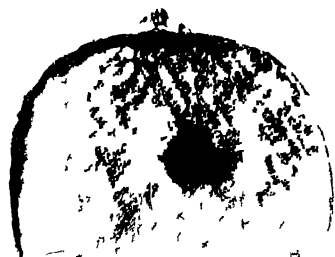
23. मण्यदौःसाधिकचौरौडरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्यापृतकगौलि-  
 24. कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविष[य\*]पत्यादीन् अन्याश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्ष  
 प्रचारो-  
 25. ज्ञानिहाकीर्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् चैत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्  
 यथाहं मान-  
 26. यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा श्रीमधुगिरिमण्डला-  
 वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर  
 27. प्रतिवडः कङ्कग्रामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तरराढायां<sup>1</sup> कुमारपुरचतुरके पूर्वं  
 अप-  
 28. राजौलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभूः सीमा दक्षिणे ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्थलीयभागडीस्वण्डक्षेत्रं  
 सीमा  
 29. पश्चिमे अच्छमागोपथः सीमा उत्तरे मोरनदीसीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः  
 षट्त्रिंश[डू]द्रोणात्मक[ः\*]

Reverse.

30. सम्वत्सरेण सार्द्धशतद्वयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावास्तिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(म्ब)न्धिभूद्रो-  
 31. णचतुष्टयोपेतपाटकद्वयसमेतराघवहृष्टपाटकस्तथाचतुरके पूर्वं चाकलियाजो-  
 32. लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवडाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे ब्राह्मलजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे  
 परजाण-  
 33. गोपथः सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नस्त्रिपञ्चाशडूद्रोणात्मकः सम्वत्सरेण सार्द्धश-  
 34. तद्वयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद्व(हृ)यविलिखित-  
 35. नामसीमं स्वसीमाद्यवच्छिन्नं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादिभूव(ब)हि[ः\*]गोपथाद्यभू<sup>2</sup> वास्तुभू-  
 सहितं वृषभश-  
 36. ह्वरनलेन उ(ज)ननवतिभूद्रोणात्मकं सम्वत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राघवहृष्ट-  
 वारह-  
 37. कोणानिमावस्थितस्वण्डक्षेत्रभूद्रोणचतुष्टयात्मकवास्तिहितापाटकदामरवडा-  
 38. पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् षट्पाटकं सभाटविटपं सजलस्थलं सग-  
 39. तीषरं सगुवाकनारिकेलं सह्यदशापराधं परिहृतसर्वपीडं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेश-  
 40. मकिञ्चित्प्रगाह्यं दणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तं । अनिरुद्धदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय  
 41. पृथ्वीधरदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय अनन्तदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय शा-

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. *Dakshināmśaka vithēya* in the Paharpur plate, above Vol XX, p 61 — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Probably we have to read *gōpath-ādy asara-bhū bahīś=cha* [Cf. 136 of Tarapandighi copper plate *Inscriptions of Bengal III*, p 102 — Ed.]

[illegible]





- 42 गिडल्यासितदेवलप्रवराय समवेदकौशुमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्यश्री-  
 43 कुवेरदेवशर्माणे पुण्ये अहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणमहा-  
 44 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभितद्वये । श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-  
 45 गयालत्रा(त्रा)क्षणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकक्ष(क्षे)त्रपाटकभिक्षानशास-  
 46 नो(न)[विनिम]येन एतद्राघवहृष्टादिषट्पाटकम्प्रत्येकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-  
 47 तो<sup>1</sup>त्पत्तियोम्यं क्षे(क्षे)त्रपाटकं कोष्ठीकृत्य अस्मै पुनर्व्या(व्या)ख्याय श्रीकुवेरभिक्षानाय  
 सूर्यग्रहे  
 48 एतस्मामुत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कं क्षितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन सास्त्रशासनोक्तत्वं दत्त-  
 49 मस्माभिस्तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [1\*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे  
 नरकपात-  
 50 भयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयं [1\*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः  
 श्लोकाः । भूमिं  
 51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1\*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं  
 स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥<sup>2</sup>[८॥\*]  
 52 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्मै  
 [तस्य] तदा फलं(लम्)<sup>3</sup> ॥[१०॥\*] आस्फोट-  
 53 यन्ति पितरो वल्गायन्ति पितामहाः[1\*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नक्ष्त्राता  
 भविष्यति ॥<sup>4</sup>[११॥\*] षष्टिं वर्ष-  
 54 सहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आक्षेप्त्वा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं  
 व्रजेत् ॥<sup>5</sup>[१२॥\*] स्वदत्तां  
 55 परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां [1\*] स विष्टयां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पिष्टभिः सह-  
 पच्यते ॥<sup>6</sup>[१३॥\*] इति कमल-  
 56 दलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1\*] सकलमिदमुदा-  
 हृतञ्च बुद्धा<sup>7</sup> न हि  
 57 पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥<sup>8</sup>[१४॥\*] श्रीमल्लक्षणसेनचोणीन्द्रः सान्धिविग्रहि-  
 कम् [1\*] त्रिपुरा-  
 58 रिनाह(य)मकरोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥<sup>9</sup>[१५॥\*] सं ६<sup>10</sup> आवर्षदिने ७<sup>11</sup>  
 श्रीनिमहासांनि [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> This *to* is redundant<sup>2</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>3</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>4</sup> Read *buddhvā*<sup>5</sup> Basu reads 3<sup>6</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>7</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>8</sup> Metre *Pushpāgrā*<sup>9</sup> Basu reads 2<sup>10</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>11</sup> Metre *Anushṭubh*<sup>12</sup> Metre : *Uṣṇīḥ*

## No 38 — THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA

BY K V SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B A , COIMBATORE

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far, it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now, it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated, it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel, above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Venkatēśa-Perumāl at Tirumukkūdal in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.<sup>1</sup> There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.<sup>2</sup> The village of Tirumukkūdal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vēgavatī and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūdal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Venkatēśa-Perumāl is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūdal is about two miles from Palaiya-Śivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēnkata-malai.

The temple of Venkatēśa-Perumāl is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatunga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.<sup>3</sup> According to this inscription, the god is called **Vishnu-Bhatāra**. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūdal-Ālvār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōla times,<sup>4</sup> while a later epigraph calls it by the name Venkatēśvara-svāmī.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamil language** and alphabet, and the **characters** belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

<sup>3</sup> No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 169 and 182 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 187 of the same collection.

and their places are filled up by plain ones. In the second section, a few pillars have been inserted in later times close to the inscribed wall and these obstruct a part of the inscription. Though the letters so obstructed have not come out in the impression, yet they have been read from the stone.

Regarding the **orthography** of the record the following peculiarities deserve to be noted. The letters *n* and *ñ* have been quite indifferently used. The wrong employment of the former not only before *n* and *r* but also at the end of words is noticeable in many places, e.g., *yannanranna* (l 4), *Vimayanranna* (l 4), *magan* and *marravan* (l 1). Similarly we find the incorrect use of *n* before *t* and at the commencement of words, e.g., *sāmanta* (l 2), *maṇḍarum* (l 2) and *Nulamba* (l 4). There are several instances where the *sandhi* rules have not been observed, e.g., *Irugaṇyan dēvi* (l 1), *pōrir-Danda*° (l 4), *tiṁṁir te*° (l 4), *Kēśavan Da*° (l 2) and *Sūttukallir-jaya* (l 9). In the first three cases here cited, the *t* and *d* should have been changed into *r*; in the fourth, *n* should have been omitted and in the fifth *r* should have been replaced by *l*. A few mistakes of spelling also occur, e.g., *nintum* for *nirrun* (l 1), *nāttina* for *nāttida* (l 1) and *pūnar* for *punar* (l 1). The use of certain words and phrases deserves notice, e.g., *Putpagappidi* 'the name of a royal elephant' (l 3), *kēttin*, (l 6), *kachchāna* (i.e., *gadyāna*) (l 11), *cholliya pōkka*, (l 6), *mudal tavarndu*, *mudal eduttu*, (l 11), *vīraśēlar* and *daśabandam* (l 11).

The inscription opens with the historical introduction commencing with the words *tiru-valor*, etc., in which are chronicled, in greater detail than hitherto known, the political events that took place in the reign of the Chōla king **Rājakēśarivarman** alias **Vīrarājēndradēva** up to the sixth year, the **date** of the record. It states that the king, while he was seated on the throne called Rājēndraśōla-Māvalivānarājan in his palace named Śōlakēralan-tirumālgai at **Gangaikondaśōlapuram**, was pleased to order that the amount of 75 *kalaṅgu* of gold which the residents of the *dēvadāna* village of Vayalaikkāvūr had been paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (*śālā*)—together with certain customary dues raised from the same village which had been assigned as a *śālābhōga* to the temple of Mahā-Vishnu at Tirumukkūdal in the second year of the king's predecessor **Parakēśarivarman Rājēndradēva** 'who took Rattapādi 7½ lakhs, and defeated **Ahavamalla** twice on the battle field'—should be entered in the accounts from the current year as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to be utilised for the expenses (*nimanda*) of the god. This royal order (*kēlvi*) of the king was committed to writing by an official whose designation was *tirumandiravōlar* (Royal Secretary) and attested to by three others designated *tirumandiravōlar-nāyagam* (Chief Royal Secretary). When this royal mandate was received, certain officials who may be called the authorising officers (*eval*) gave the command and this was seconded by thirty-eight persons belonging to three sections or departments of the state, viz., six of *udankūttam* (Royal attendants or aide-de camps), twenty-eight of *vidayil*, i.e., those who issue permits, and four of the *naduvuru-kkar* (arbitrators). Thereafter thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten<sup>1</sup> different sections assembled together, of whom four persons authorised the entry, one read the order, another made the entry and still another issued the revised account. The entry made by the officers was to the following effect—

The gift to the temple of Mahā-Vishnu at Tirumukkūdal consisted of (1) 75 *kalaṅgu* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāvūr were paying for the *śālā*, (2) certain specified dues on the said *dēvadāna* village, and (3) 72 *kalaṅgu*<sup>2</sup> and 9 *maṇḍā* of gold which formed a prior *dēvadāna*

<sup>1</sup> These ten sections are —(1) *puravavarinarkkalam*, (2) *varippottagam*, (3) *puravavarinarkkalam-kalāṅka*, (4) *mugaveṭṭi*, (5) *terippu*, (6) *taravu śāttu*, (7) *palaniyāyam*, (8) *variyūḍu*, (9) *varippottaga-kanaika* and (10) *paṭṭōlar*. Of these, the first may be taken to mean 'General Accounts,' the second 'Tax Register,' the third 'Examiner of General Revenues,' the fourth 'Index Keeper,' the fifth 'Receipts,' the sixth 'Opening and Closing Accounts,' the seventh 'Old Arrears,' the eighth 'Entry in Tax Register,' the ninth 'Accountant of Tax Register,' and the tenth 'Keeper of the Royal Orders.'

<sup>2</sup> 1 *kalaṅgu* = 20 *maṇḍā*, 1 *maṇḍā* = 2 *kunri* = 10 *mā*,

gift Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kalañṇu* and 9 *mañṇāḍi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *rājakēsaṁ* measure, per *kalañṇu*, amounted to 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāl*, 1 *ālakku* and 3 *śevdu*<sup>1</sup>. This when converted into *arumolīdēvaṁ* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūm*, 3 *nāl* and 1 *ālakku* after providing for *kālvāśi*, *kālalavu-kūl* and *korralavu-vāśi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 4 *nāl* of *arumolīdēvaṁ* for each *rājakēsaṁ kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūm*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāl*, 1 *ulakku* and 3 *śevdu*. The third item (No 2) amounted to 216½ *kāsu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36½ *kāsu* obtained by converting 11 *kalañṇu* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *ūr-kalañṇu* (=1 *kalañṇu*), *kumara-kachchānam* (=1 *kalañṇu*), *mīn-pāttam* (=3¼ *kalañṇu*) and *kilīrai-pāttam* (=5¼ *kalañṇu*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāsu* and 4 *mā* from *dasavandam*, 25¼ *kāsu* and 3 *mā* from *mādaikkūl*, 3 *kāsu* from *mudal-selavu*, 1½ *kāsu* from *vannaikkakkūl*, ¾ *kāsu* from *tarippudavar*, 1½ *kāsu* from *tingalmērā* and 118 *kāsu* from *vēlīkkāsu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāsu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto<sup>2</sup> will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vedic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, *i e*, Rāma at noon (nearly 601 *kalam*), for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūra* and *kunkuma* and for lamps (68½ *kāsu*), for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippaṣi, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyaṣtamī (the birth-day of Kṛishna) (28 *kalam*, 1 *kurum* and 5½ *nāl*), for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Āślēsha in the month Āvanī (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurum* and 2 *nāl*), for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūrādam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the **Vaiśya Mādavan Dāmayan**, who built the *Jananātha-maṇḍapa* in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurum* and 2 *nāl*), for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity *Vēṇṇaikkūttālvān*, *i e*, Kṛishna in procession on the day of *Tiruvōnam* in the month of *Purattāṣi* of every year (5 *kalam*), for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaishnavas on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kurum* and 4 *nāl*), for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvāymol* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of *Viraśōḷan*, the *Vaikhānasa-dēvakanmīs* (priests worshipping the deity according to the *Vaikhānasa* mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kurum*), for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumālhar*, *i e*, the inner enclosure (40 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāsu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vedic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāsu*, another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhaṭṭa expounded Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra<sup>3</sup> he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāsu*, *i e*, a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vedic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra and 10 Mahā-pāñcharātras, 3

<sup>1</sup> The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here —1 *kalam* = 12 *kurum* or 3 *tūm* or 6 *padakku*, 1 *kurum* = 8 *nāl*, 1 *nāl* = 2 *ur*, 1 *ur* = 2 *ulakku*, 1 *ulakku* = 2 *ālakku* and 1 *ālakku* = 5 *śevdu*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 229 f, below.

<sup>3</sup> On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmanas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kurum* of paddy and 37½ *kāśu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the R̥pāvātāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchrātras,<sup>1</sup> Śiva-Brāhmanas and Vaikhānasas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñcharātra, Śaiva and Vaikhānasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*<sup>2</sup> occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion, but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A D 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Pavaiya-kūḍappuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription of the same time<sup>4</sup> registers a similar gift of land as *Tantirīya-kūḍappuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Tantirīya-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛtti*, *adhyāyana-vṛtti* and *Bhāṭṭa-vṛtti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsa (Apūrvās). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A D at a place called Ennāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāśu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Virasōlan, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vedic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāśu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāśu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

<sup>1</sup> The Pāñchrātra was so called because it had five Samhitas, viz., Paramēśvara, Sātvata, Vishvaksēna, Khagēśvara and Śrī Paushkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñchrātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *yajña*.

<sup>2</sup> *Śivādhyā* and *gurukula* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol VI, No. 312. *Kūḍa* in Tamil means a teacher and *pavaiya*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bahvricha*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g Vēda.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No 316.

barber who received 15 *kalam* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *nāl* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *kāśu* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kalam* of paddy for the water-man and 40 *kāśu* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were —

- (1) Brāhmyam-kadumbūri, (2) Vāsā-harītakī, (3) Gō-mūtra-harītakī, (4) Daśa mūla harītakī, (5) Bhallātaka-harītakī, (6) Gandīra, (7) Balākērandā-taila, (8) Pañchāka-taila, (9) Laśunādy-ērandā-taila, (10) Uttama-karnādi-taila, (11) Śukla sa-ghṛita, (12) Bilvādi ghṛita, (13) Mandūkara-vatīka, (14) Dravattī, (15) Vimala, (16) Sunētri, (17) Tāmrādi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyānaka-lavana and (20) Purāna-ghṛita

Of these medicines<sup>1</sup>, No (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasāyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Samhitā*, chapter I, and *Ashtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows — 1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellic myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (i.e. of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulve of 4 *palas* each of *mandūka pāna*, *pipplā*, *śankhapushpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *ādhakas* of oil and 3 *ādhakas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka*- and in chapter VI of *Suśruta-Samhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-harītakī* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. *Suśruta* states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇdu-rōga*, Vāgbhata (chapter XVI) says that *harītakī* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No (4) is described in the *Ashtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lēhya* and mixing with it the powder of *triṇjāta*, *trikatu*, and a little of *yava-śūkaja* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hæmorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No (6) is meant *Gandīrādyarishtha*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Samhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gandīra* (*solanum verbasifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semecarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyōsha* (pepper, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *bṛhatī-dvaya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum xanthocarpum*), and (6) *vādanga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of *kūrchika-mastu*, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of cakes of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prākṛta-mastu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*.

<sup>1</sup> For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hæmorrhoids, *kṛmī* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hicough

*Pañchāka-tarla* (No 8) may be identical with *Tarla-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas* The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja* By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules

*Bilvādi-ghṛta* (No 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahanī-chikitsā-prakarana* of *Yōgar-nākara* The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agnī* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*piper chaba*), (4) *ādraka* (ginger), (5) *śṛṅga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk) The first five are subject to the process of *kvātha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahani*

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Ashtāṅga hṛdaya* deal with *Manḍūkara-vatika* (No 13) The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *triṇṣhana musta*, *vēdāṅga*, *chavya*, *chitraka*, *dārvi*, *tvāṅ*, *māksika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru* Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *mandūra* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūmas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*figus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk This medicine cures anæmia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hæmorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimala* (No 15) are *śankha*, *pṛyangu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikatu* and the *triphalas* Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *marīcha*, *pippalī*, *lōdhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *triphalā* This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *patala*, *kācha* and *kandū*

The preparation of the *vartti* known as *Sunētri* (No 16) is described in the *Sahasrayōga* under *nētrarōgaprakarana* A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrefolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *garrika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pūtarōhni*, enter into the composition of this medicine It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *kācha*, *pushpa*, *patala*, *vṛana*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukkuma*, and *adhirmāsa*

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavana* (No 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Arśa rōga* in the *Vṛindamādhava* The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, *ie*, *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions<sup>1</sup> The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways In two sets of records it commences with the words *iru valar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *viramē tunar* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

<sup>1</sup> S. I I, Vol III, pp 32 ff and 193 ff where Dr Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign



show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of **Kūdal-Sangama**. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of **Gangavādī**, **Vēngī** and **Kūdal-Sangama** find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A D 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn<sup>1</sup>. It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother **Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva** died which gave the occasion for **Virarājendra** to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen **Ulagamulududaiyāl** as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by **Rājēndradēva** and completed by **Virarājendra** after the former's death. King **Virarājendra** started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.<sup>2</sup> **Virarājendra's** dealings with **Pottappi**, an un-named **Kēraḷa king**, as well as the younger brother of **Jananātha**<sup>3</sup> and **Virakēsari**,<sup>4</sup> the son of the **Pāndya king Śrīvallabha** are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,<sup>5</sup> and as such might have taken place in about A D 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by **Āhavamalla** through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the **Vēngī** country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,<sup>6</sup> and then had his anointment of victory (*vijay ābhishēka*) performed.<sup>7</sup> The **Vēngī** country was first invaded by **Rājarāja I** (985-1013 A D) and was again overrun by **Rājendra-Chōla I**,<sup>8</sup> but it appears that his successors **Rājādhirāja I** and **Rājēndradēva** did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the **Vēngī** country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. **Rājēndradēva** seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The **Kanyākumārī**<sup>9</sup> inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by **Virarājendra**. It says —

भाटभ्यां समुपेक्षित जनपद वशक्रमाभ्यागत क्रान्त वैरिमहेवरैरतिबलैर्वैङ्गोन्कलिङ्गानपि ।  
जित्वा शत्रुपरंपरामतिबलां हित्वा च भीतान्वङ्गुमात्रमभ्युदितपतिः क्षेमेण तं सोन्वशात् ॥  
Before 1067 A D, the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of **Kampulī**, set up a pillar of victory at a place called **Karadikal** (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the **Tungabhadra** as reported in our inscription), gained victories at **Bezwada**, got back **Kannakuchchi** (**Kānyakubja**), took the head of the **Pāndya**, levied tribute from the **Chēra**, defeated **Vijayabāhu** and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at **Śūttukkal**, gained victories at **Chakkarakōttam** and **Kāvī** and destroyed the **Kalinga** country.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See for instance *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol V, No 976

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol III, p 33 and also No 976 of *S I I*, Vol V

<sup>3</sup> **Jananātha** has been taken to be the king of **Dhārā** for which there is no warrant

<sup>4</sup> By considering **Virakēsari** as the son of **Śrīvallabha**, I differ from Dr Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of **Rājēndradēva's** reign. (See No 20 of *S I I*, Vol III)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No 20

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No 339.

<sup>7</sup> These additional facts are recorded in No 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No 30 of *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol III, and Nos 98 of 1892 and 132 of 1902

<sup>8</sup> That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the **Uttarāpatha** is recorded in an inscription of **Rājādhirāja I** found at **Ennāvīram** (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 143)

<sup>9</sup> *Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol III, p 148, v. 77

<sup>10</sup> These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No 88 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a ~~Kanarese~~ inscription<sup>1</sup> from Uchchangidrug in the Bellary district as Karadikal-nādu of which the village of Nandavādige is said to be the face Nandavādige and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavādige and Karadi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijāpur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Krishna river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army, and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Lankā his own'. This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kittī<sup>2</sup> when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills<sup>3</sup>. He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue. And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātitttha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Lankā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Vīlakkahana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vatagura, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils<sup>4</sup>.

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakēśavarman Rājēndradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A.D. 1055. Rājēndradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānabharana and captured Lankā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājēndradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttunga was the Chōla ruler.

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

<sup>3</sup> Wyśemba's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *karpūram*, *kunkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāśu* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *kalañṇu* of *kunkumam*, 2 *nāl* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāl* per *kāśu*, 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāl* of paddy, and 1 *kāśu* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Unhusked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and cocoanuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kattu* or *parru* and its price was 2 *nāl* of paddy. A *nāl* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits, and 1 *kurum* of paddy was exchanged for 3 cocoanuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. **Gangapāḍi** (l 1) is the Western Ganga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkād or Talakādu. **Vēngai-nādu** (l 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chālukya kings. **Tungapattirai** (l 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tungabhadra. **Kūḍal Sangama** (l 1) or Kūḍal (l 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and the Pañcha-Gangā<sup>1</sup>. **Kōsalai** (l 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. **Gangaimānagar** (l 4), **Gangāpuri** (l 7) or **Gangaikondachōlapuram** (l 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uḍaiyārpālāyam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1010-1045) and made the capital of the Chōla dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013). **Irattapāḍi** (l 5) or Rattapāḍi, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Rattas. **Karandai** (l 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karañṇu, in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal-Sangama<sup>2</sup>. **Kuntala** (l 5) is certainly the Western Chālukya territory<sup>3</sup>. **Viśaiyavāḍai** (l 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezvada. The seven **Kalīngas** (l 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēngi, ruled by the Eastern Gangas. **Ṭam** (l 7) or Ṭangai is Ceylon. **Chakkarakkōttam** (l 9) has been identified with Chakrakōtta in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace **Śōnāyanagar** (l 9) and **Kāvi** (l 10). **Imaiyam** (l 10) is another name for the Himālayas and **Sētu** (l 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmēśvaram. **Madurāntaka-chaturvēḍimangalam** is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. **Jayangondachōla-mandalam** is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Tondai-mandalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayangonda-Chōla. **Kalattūr-kōttam** is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of **Vayalaikkāvūr** (l 11) and **Ālpākkam** (l 43) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. **Minaṇṇudi** in **Idaiyala-nādu**, a sub-division of **Vijayarājendra-valanādu** in **Śōla-mandalam** (l 52). **Ayandampākkam** in **Āgudi-nādu**, a sub-division of **Pular-kōttam** in Jayangondachōla-mandalam (l 53 f), **Rājasundari-chaturvēḍimangalam** in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> Above, XII, p. 298<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

*Details of Expenses*

No	Item	Rate				Total expenses for the year				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	śe
Daily expenses										
1	Sirukālai sandi	0	5	5	3	171	6	6	0	0
2	Akkāradalai	0	9	3½	0	283	1	4	0	0
3	Night, Pāl pōnagam	0	3	1	0	93	9	0	0	0
4	For Sri Rāghavachakravartin	0	1	6	0	52	6	0	0	0
Special occasions and festivals										
5	Aippaśi festival					7	0	0	0	0
6	Māśi festival					7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival					7	1	0	0	0
8	Jayantyaśṭami					3	0	6½	0	0
9	"					3	11	7	0	0
10	"					6	5	2	0	0
11	Birth day of Vaiśya Mādavan Dāmayan					6	5	2	0	0
12	Purattāśi Tiruvōnam					5	0	0	0	0
13	Feeding Sri Vaishnavas on Amāvāsyā days					19	4	4	0	0
14	Do during Procession to Tiruvengadamalai					8	8	3	0	0
15	Do during Procession from Tiruvengadamalai					8	8	3	0	0
16	Do during Purattāśi Tiruvōnam					8	8	3	0	0
17	Do during "					17	4	6	0	0
18	Do during "					8	8	3	0	0
19	Do during "					17	4	6	0	0
						134	11	5	2	0
Services										
20	Tiru	0	0	6	0					
21	Tiruvāymoḷi Songster	0	3	0	0					
22	Gardeners	0	4	0	0					
23	Special Tiru	0	1	0	0					
24	Vaikhānasa Dēvakanm̃s	0	1	0	0					
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0					
26	Potter	0	1	0	0					
27	Washerman	0	0	4	0					
28	Tirumukkūḍal Pērayan	0	0	4	0	382	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs					80	0	0	0	0
School										
30	Rig Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0					
31	Yajur Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0					
32	Vyākaraṇa teacher	0	4	0	0	240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students	3	10	6	0	1,402	6	0	0	0
34	Hospital	1	0	1½	0	365	7	4	0	0
35	Waterman	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
36	Ilāmachcham and cardamom					20	10	0	0	0
37	Dakshinā, betel leaves, etc					1	4	2	3	3
						3,243	8	6	1	3

## Details of Expenses—contd

No	Item	Rate	Total expenses for the year
		kal ku na ul	kal ku na ul
	<i>Money Expenses</i>		
38	Sugar for Akkārādalaḥ	20 <i>kāṣu</i>	
39	Sandal paste and its ingredients	46 "	
40	Oil	22½ "	
41	...	1½ "	
42	...	7½ "	
43	Damayan's Birthday	6½ "	
44	Tiru	1 "	
45	Songster	4 "	
46	Dēvakanmī	4 "	
47	Accountant	4 "	
48	Pērayan	1 "	
49	Rig Vēda teacher	4 "	
50	Yajur Vēda teacher	4 "	
51	Vyākaraṇa Bhaṭṭa	10 "	
52	Cook	6 "	
53	Maid servant	2 "	
54	Mats	2 "	
55	Oil (for students)	9½ "	
	<i>Hospital</i>		
56	Physician	8 <i>kāṣu</i>	
57	Fuel and herbs	2 "	
58	Nurses	1 "	
59	Medicines	40 "	
60	Oil (hospital)	2½ "	
61	Māḍavan Dāmāyan	1 " 7 <i>mā</i>	
	An item of 7 <i>kāṣu</i> is lost in the original With this, 216½ <i>kāṣu</i> and two <i>mā</i> are made up		

NOTE.—The quantity of sugar required daily for *akkārādalaḥ* is 32 *pāḷam*. Hence the requirement for a year of 360 days comes to 11,520 *pāḷam*. Since 1 *kāṣu* fetched 576 *pāḷam* of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 *kāṣu*.

The requirement of sandal paste for a year at ½ *pāḷam* per day is 180 *pāḷam*. This at the rate of 8 *pāḷam* per *kāṣu* amounted to 22½ *kāṣu*. The requirement of *kaṣṭhūrāṣaṇḍa* for the same item is 11½ *kalāṅḡu* and this at the rate of ½ *kalāṅḡu* per *kāṣu* comes to 22½ *kāṣu*. Another ingredient for this item is *kunḡumam* which cost 1 *kāṣu*. Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 *kāṣu*.

## TEXT

1 [ Svastī Śrī ] [||\*] [Tiru]-valar-tīral-puyatt=iru-nīla-valāyan=tan maṇi-ppūn-ena=ttā[ngi]=ppan-manī-kkorra-ven-kudai-ñīlā<sup>1</sup> kuvalāyatt=uyūgalai=pperra tāyī[num] pēni mar-  
ulav=arai-kalal-araiśar tann=a[di-ñīlā]<sup>1</sup>=odunga urai-pilatt=udai-Kaliy=odunga muraī  
śeydu virai-malar-tteriyal Vikkalan-rannodu varī-śilai-ttaḍa-kkai mā-sāmantarai=  
k[kaṇ]gapādi=[k\*]kalattidai-nin[tu]n=<sup>2</sup> Tuṇ[ga\*]pattirai puga=tturattī [ān]g-avar  
Vē[n]gai-[nan]nāttinai<sup>3</sup> mīttum=avar vitta tāng-ar[um-peru]-vali-ttandu [keda=t]tākkī  
[mā-dan]da-nāyakan Śāmaṇḍarājanai=chēherr=avan śi[ra]ttipaiy=aruttu [ma]r-avan=  
oru-[magal-āgiya] Irugayan-dēvi Nāgalaiy-ennu[n]=t[ō]gay-añ-chāyalai mugattodu  
[mūkkū vē-ā]kkī pagaitt=edr mūprām viśaiyilum [ś]enr=amar poruvan ena=kkarūdi-  
ppēr-pūnar<sup>4</sup> Kūḍalsangamatt=Āhavamallan makkal-āgiya Vikkalan Śingana-

<sup>1</sup> Read *nīlā*.<sup>2</sup> Read *ga*.<sup>3</sup> There is some correction here in the original. Read *nūṇun*.<sup>4</sup> Read *puṇar*.

2 n enr-ivar tammo[du] enn-il sāmantarai venṛ=adu-tūsi mun vittu=ttan=runai m[ai\*]a[du]ja=tānum pinn-adutt=irundu vada-kadal-ena vaguttav<sup>1</sup>=a-ttānaiyai=kkada-kalir onrā[1]=kkalakki adal-puri-**Kōśalai**-Singanai=kkodi-ppadai tan mun tūsi-ven-kalirōdun=tuṇittu=kKōśavan Dandanāyakan Kettaraśan tūndirai-Mārayan tirai Pottaraśan Irēchchayan igal-śey-poṛ-Kōdai Mūvēndi enrār tand adu-tuppi-anēga sāmantarai=chchunna-pinnai=cheydu pinnai-mudaliy=āgiya Muduvanan ōda viritta talaiyodu Vikkalan ōda śeru-ttolil-a[1]nda Śinga[n]an ōda annai mudaligal=anaiva[ru]m mā-pōr-ppannina pagad=iland=ōda nannina Āhavamallanum=avarṛu mun=ōda=[tt]an vēga-ven kalirṛinai viṅakka<sup>2</sup> vāgai-kond=āng-avar taramum=avar-kula-danamuñ=changun=tongalun=tārayum pēriyum mēgadamba-

3 ramum<sup>3</sup> ven-chāmaraiyuñ=chūkara-kkodiya makara tōranamum=ottaga mraiyyum=ulōk-āsanamum [put]paga-ppidiya poru-kalir ittamum pāy-pari-ttōgaiyodum paṇittu=chchēy-oli-virasinhāsana[m p]ār tolav=ēri elil-taru-**Ulagamuṇḍudaiyārum** <sup>4</sup>vaiśai-manai-makutam ēydu kuśai-kol tattū-mā-puravi-**pPottappi** vēndanai vārana-valai-kalar-**Kēralanṛannai**=t[ā]r-Śa[n]nādan-rambiyai=ppōr-kalatt=alangal-śū[1]-paśun talaiy=arindu pulan kalaṛ-Rennavan **Śrīvallaban** magan śrīvunanai mun-navil-manimudi-Virakēsariyai [ma]da-varaiy-onrāl=udaiṇittu=ttan<sup>5</sup> karyil Śēralar tammodu śengīraiyyar kulam vēṛ-paṇḍ=ōdi mēl kadal viṭa vārana-pōr-adanṛ=chelutti Vāriyil=enn-arun-kalirṛi <sup>6</sup>Irattarai=kkavarnda kanniyar kalirōdun=katti=ppanna-ppidiyodum=āng-avar=iḍu<sup>7</sup> tirai tanta vēla-[n]rai kondu sūli-punai-kond-ā[1]r kuṛu-

4 mir kṛittā vem-pōri<sup>8</sup>-Dandanāyakar tammi<sup>10</sup>-tūndirai Vill<sup>11</sup> iyannanaiyum Vāṇjippayanai<sup>12</sup>  
<sup>13</sup>igu mada-kalirru <sup>14</sup>ṇḍār  
 Aśōkaiyan tannaiyum tūndirai Chattiyaṇnanaiyuñ=Chanduvigraha-pPat[tiyaṇ]ṇan-  
 [ṛannaiyu]m [a]-ttagu tēm-arū teriyav-Vima[va\*]n-rannai sē-madi-Vaṅṅānairum  
 nāma-vēṛ-Kanganai Nūlambaṇai=kKāḍavar kōnai vamb-uyar<sup>15</sup>-mada sāṇai<sup>16</sup>. Vaidum-  
 barūśaṇaiy=iru[n]-<sup>17</sup>talaiy=arindu perum-punai ra[n]ādu-Gaṅgamānagar taittapin<sup>18</sup>  
 tungalil vaḷi-varu Śaḷukki i-ppaiyodum vālva[di]l śāvadē śāla-nanṛ-enṛu ēvam-  
 uṇṇi-unnaiya śindaiyan-āgi munnam pudalvarun=tāna[m\*] mud iḍu-koḍutt-adaindu  
 Kūḍalē kaḷam-eṇa=kkurittu=kKūḍalil=vā[rā]d=aṇṇinar manavar allargal pōr-pperum-  
 paḷi-ppirattar-āgav-eṇṛ=iy-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *va* may also be read *a*.

<sup>2</sup> *vilakki* is the reading in Nos 20 and 30 of *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol III

<sup>3</sup> Delete the *ra*

<sup>4</sup> The letter *vi* looks like *mi* in the original

<sup>5</sup> *Udagayil* is the reading in the Takkōlam inscription, while No 30 of *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol. III, has *Ula*

*gayil*

<sup>6</sup> This letter is badly formed and looks like *mi* in the original

<sup>7</sup> *Viḍu* is the reading in the *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol. III, No 30

<sup>8</sup> *Koṇḍar kuṛumir* is replaced by *koṇḍ-ārṛ uṇṇir* in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr.*, Vol III,

<sup>9</sup> Read either *pōril* or *pōriṛ Rā*

<sup>10</sup> Correct it into *tammil* or *tammir rāḍi*

<sup>11</sup> *South-Ind Inscr.*, Vol III, No 30, has *Mall*.

<sup>12</sup> *Vāṇji* is replaced by *Maṇji* in No 30 of *South Ind Inscr.*, Vol III

<sup>13</sup> Some letters are completely worn out here The gap may be filled up with the syllables *yum pi*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *piramadēvaṇiyum ta* in the gap

<sup>15</sup> *Vamb uyar* is replaced by *manṇu* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol III,

<sup>16</sup> Read *yanai*

<sup>17</sup> Between *ta* and *lan* there is some empty space

<sup>18</sup> *Min* is another reading

- 5 āvarum=ariyav=eḷudiya śapadamē varum=ōlai vidaiyodun=kuduttu **Irattapādi**<sup>1</sup>pipirattaril  
mē-tagu Gang[ā] kKe[t]tanaiy=ēva āng-avan vand=adī vaṇangiy=a-vvāchakamum=  
urattaluñ=chindaiyu[m\*] mugamun=tiru-ppuyam=iraṇḍum ēnd-eḷil-ugaviyōr<sup>2</sup>=iru-  
maṇḍangu polya=ppōnd=ap-pōr-kalam pu[gu]ndu Karandaiyil Vallavar-[k]ōnai [va]ravu  
kānād=avan śolliya nālin-mēlum=oru-tingal <sup>3</sup>pātt-inid-irunda-pinnai pērtt=avan kā[l]  
kedav=ōdī mēl=kadalil-olittalun=Dēvanādanuñ=Chittiyun=Kēsiyum mūvarum tan-ttan  
mudugida=ppāv-arum Irattappādi ēl-arai ilakkamum mura-ttolil=adakkī mulang-  
eri [mū]tti ven-kada<sup>4</sup>-ppuliy=ēri viyandu vilaiyāda=tTungapattirai-kkarai Jayabattira-  
ttūn nānula[m pa]ra[śa] nātti mēnāl vandav=a-ppirattanaī Vallavan-ākki=[ch]chundara-  
kkandigai śūtti<sup>5</sup> a-kKuntala[t\*]t-araiśanu[m\*] makkalum ai-mmadi aṇṇi=ttan<sup>6</sup>
- 6 puraisai-yānaiyir=puḷai-kkaiyir=pilatt=ivv-ulag-elām=ariya ōdiva-pariś=oru-palagaiyir=  
palud-arav=eḷudi=chchātti[na]v=uraiyuñ=Chalukki padamum=ērra pūttala-māvodu=  
pputtal pērttun=tān=kai-kkonda [V]ēng[ai]-nan-[n]ādu <sup>7</sup>mīttukkond-alāl mīlgulan=  
kēttini vallaṇ āḡil vandū kākk-enṇu śoll-ena=chcholliya pōkki ellaiy-ang-aduttav-a-  
ttānai ehl **Vijayavādayōd**-adutta pēr-ār=ivandu āri=ttadutta Jananādanaiyu[m  
Tippa]raiśanaiyu[m\*] mudalāgav-udaiyav=a-pperuñ-chēnaiyai adaviyir=pāchchi-  
kKōdavi[rīy]r-ran pōdaga nīr=unna=kKalingam-ēlun=kadand=a-ppuli-valam-poritta-  
maiya-Mahēndiratt-alavu[m\*] mē-varun=tānai-ttāvadi śelutti=ttan pūn-kalark=  
adaikkalam pugunda padaikkala-ttada-kkaiy Vijayādittark=aruḷi viśaivodu mīṇḍu  
vitta kaḷiyum
- 7 pūnda jaya-ttiruvodun=**Gangāpuri** pugund-aruh angē Rājādhīrājan Rājārājan-ena=  
ttarāpadiyar-āga=ttamanivatt=iyarri a-ppadi mannar=adī tolud-ena ina-manī ppiddatt=  
rutti mu[nai]yidai **Vēngai**-nan-ṇāttidai=[k]konda iru-pedi-ppirakkam variśaiyir=  
kātti āḷiyu=nigalamun=kalarri āng=avar vāliya viradamum=anṇi **Īla**-ttalai  
kadal-adaiyādu pala-kalañ-che[lutti\*] mā pperun-tānaiy=ērra-kkāppudai-kka[da]l-  
valaiy-aranattu vel-śaman tudangiy=a-chChingala-chchēnai manga=ppai-n-kalar-Kuru-  
kulattaraiyanum=urum-ēpa=pporu-śinattu-tā[r\*]-śāmantanum pattu-vila=kkett-udaṇḍ=  
āṇṇād=ōr-ōśai=ttaraiyir=ōda=ttarāpadi **Vijayabāhuvun**=tiśai-kedav=ōda [ma]rr avan  
dēviyai=pparri ve[n]ru mudalāgiya ala-pperun-kula-dana-manī inam  
mudiyōḍum vāri=ttini-madil-Iṇṇaiyūn=tanadēy=ākki
- 8 Tengāgan=tāndi=kKondaiyil mīndum=a-chChalukki pandaiyil iratti pagattodum vidu  
taduttu kaṇḍārīl madī-Nāgaiyan Mārayan Manumakkandayan  
kattan-gila kkūrru kavadiḡai=kKāmāyan Kondayan  
Āchchīdaran paṇkollu muyatti-kko yan mudalṇar mada-malai[y]-pporum-idī  
mudukittu vāśiy=ōda=kKo ottumaḡaiyan mudalṇar pāda-sāmantarōd=aiyir-kalir=  
iḷand=ōda ādar-purav-īlan-kaiyūm=arivaiyar-kulāttodum=agappada=ppiddittu=ppandu  
pōla=pparaiyūn=kondu tandāl-amaiya Tunnamārāyan-rānum=a-ppāḡāna Kēśavan  
. . . yōdaiyūm padāḡin-idan-tangu Singanan śāganai  
. . . chaḷukki tan viśa n dandanāyakar araśi śilai=ttind-eri  
Śōḷiyavaraiyan-enṇu ēl-pari-yānai mikkurum-andara-pūśa purakki-
- 9 gal Puḷi-**Śūttukkallir**=jayastamba nātti=tte . tan mudal sāmantarai-  
ch[Ch]akkara[kō]ttattu ta śanai-kKalingam-idaiya

<sup>1</sup> Read -pp<sup>2</sup> yōd iru is the reading in No 30 of South Ind Inscr., Vol III<sup>3</sup> Read par<sup>4</sup> No 30 of South Ind Inscr., Vol III, reads kaḍṇ<sup>5</sup> kutti is another reading<sup>6</sup> The passage from a kKuntala\*o tan is omitted in No 30 of South Ind Inscr., Vol III.<sup>7</sup> The letter mī is so formed as to be mistaken for the Grantha kī

paḍai-kkadal-ēvi vaḍa-tisai-chChakkarakōttattu mikk-udaṇṇ-eḷunda Chalukkayan-  
ānāyay<sup>1</sup>=kkana[l-eri] nūri=chChōnay[ya]nagar śilai-chChōmayan Eriyaman vāma-  
vēl-Ādittapanman-rām-ivar kuṇai-ttalai-kkulāttodun-kunippa-ttaraippa ād-  
achcha pa<sup>2</sup> . . . . . Maliyum Śagayan num vach-  
chira-ppaim-pūn-Manumanum<sup>3</sup> [Vai]dumbanun=Dēvanādanun=Dēviko<sup>4</sup> .  
 . . . . ṇṇagaḍam-ettum pagudiyum ottaga-ttogudiyum <sup>5</sup>riḡala-ppariṣandi=  
ppagudiyum varisaiyir=kollaiyil kū . . . . . patt=u-

10 <sup>6</sup>llalind=ōḍu- . . . . . nādan-dēvi **Kāviyil** vāli-man-nadunga n Kāliyappa-  
iyun=tambiyu vichchada . . . . . mudal tumbayavadi-  
kulun=tōḡaiyar-ittamum mā-kkalatt=agappada=ppidittu ti kurra lamayan  
makkalaiy=odukkai ellai kadandu nilaiy-ittu=kkalagā-ppaiy-irudaṇṇ-kidanda vada-  
tisaiy-Imaiyattodun-kidanda Sētu varambāga=chchengōl śelutti<sup>7</sup> .  
 . . . . vēda-nūdiyai vilakki miḍ-uvar vira-ttani-kkodi tīyāga-kkoḍiyodum=  
ērpavar varug-enṇu nirpa=kkōttoḷil=urimaiy-eydi araiṣu viṇṇ-irundu mē-varu-Manu  
neri vilakkiya kōv=**Irājakēsarivanmar-āna** <sup>8</sup>m[u]daiyār śrī-Virarājēndradē-  
**varkku** yāṇḍu aṇḡāvadu **Cangaikondaśōḷapurattu**=chChōlakēralan-tirumāḷḡaiyil  
Rājendraśōḷa-Māvalivānarājanil eḷundaruḷy-irundu **Jayangondaśō**.

11 **la-mandalattu=kKalattūr-kkōttattu**=ttani[yū]r śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēḍiman-  
galattu=tTirumukkūdal Mahāviṣṇukkal dēvadānamā[y] varuḡṇa **Kāliyūr-**  
**kkōttattu**=ttērōdu-**Paruvūrnāttu** **Vayalaikkāv**=ūragal<sup>9</sup> śālaikk=iruttu-varuḡṇa  
ponn=eḷupatt-aiṇ-kalaṇḡum i-chchālaikk=chchālābōgamāy varuḡṇa[pa]ḍi Irattap-  
pāḍiy=ēḷ-araiy-ilakkamun=koṇḍu Āhavamallanaiy-irumaḍi ven-kaṇḍu Ulagu[y]\*ḷyak-  
koṇḍ-arulnadēvaṇṇ=iyāṇḍ-irandāvadu mudal tavirundu vellān vagaiyil mudal-eduttu  
i-pponn=eḷupatt-aiṇ-kalaṇḡum i-v-ūrāl vanda-v-ūrkalāṇḡun=kumarakkachchānamum  
vaṇṇārappārai[yu]m mīn[pā]ttamun=tattārappāttamum-ullitta kīḷṇai-ppāttamum  
vēlkkāśun=tingaḷ-mēramum muttāvaraṇamum taṇṇippudavaiyūm vāḷaṇḡay=idangai-  
maga[n]maiyan=daśabandamu[m\*] māḍaikkūḷiyum viraśēḷaiyūm<sup>10</sup>=ullitta pātta-

12 **ṇaḷ**=utpaḍa=tTirumukkūdal Mahāviṣṇukka[lu]kku vēndu[m\*] numandangaḷukk=ṇuppe-  
dāga yāṇḍ=aiṇḡāvadu dēvadāna mudal dēvadāna iraiy-ilyāga variyil=ṇa-  
ttiruvāymolind-arulnār-enṇu Tiru[mā]ndiravōlai Kshatri<sup>11</sup>y[ī]śḷikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāttu=  
pPaṇaiyūr nāttu Nērvāyil<sup>12</sup> Nērvāyil-udaiyān Tāḷi Tiruppaṇḡāḡadudaiyāṇ-āṇa  
Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttinālun=Tirumantravōlai-nāyagam Pāṇḍiyāṇārum Rāja-  
rāja-Brahmamarāyarum Virarājēnta<sup>13</sup>-Gāṇḡaiyarāṇa=oppinālum pugunda kēḷvi  
variyl=ittu-kkolgav-enṇu Villavarājarun=Kāḷḡattaraiyarum Viḍaiyil Rājēnta<sup>14</sup>.  
vayirāgarachchōḷarum Pāṇḍiyāṇārum i-vvōḡal=ēvinapadiyēy=Uḍankūttattu  
adigāṇḡal Virarājēnta<sup>15</sup>-Brahmādhirājaruṇ=Chōḷa-Brahmamarāyaruṇ=Chembiyan  
Sittirājarum Atisayaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāruṇ=Jayangondaśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyarum Uṭta-  
maśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḍaiyil-

<sup>1</sup> Read tāṇai

<sup>2</sup> Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up

<sup>3</sup> Between the second *ma* and *num* there is some unaccountable space in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Here also there is some vacant space.

<sup>5</sup> The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*.

<sup>6</sup> The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up

<sup>7</sup> Space for about 8 letters are left blank

<sup>8</sup> For *mu* read *u*.

<sup>9</sup> Read vūragal

<sup>11</sup> Read Kshatriya.

<sup>12</sup> Read ndra.

<sup>10</sup> Read sēshar

<sup>13</sup> This word is written below the line



- 13 adigāṁgal Kāḍavarājarun=Kāvērivallaba-Mūvēndavēlārum I lattare[ya]ruñ=Chōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Vīrarājendra-Malavarājarum Valavan-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājattama-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-kka[di\*]gairājaruñ=Jayangondasōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājēntasōla<sup>1</sup>-Anukka-pPallavaraiyaruñ=Chembayan-Brahmamārayaruñ-Chundarasōla-pPallavaraiyaruñ=Jayangondasōla - Vayanāttaraiyaruñ=Jayangondasōla-chChēnāmuga-Mūvēndavēlāruñ=Chōla-Vilupparaiyaruñ=Jayasinga-kulakāla-Vilupparaiyarum Vīrarājēnta<sup>1</sup>-tTiruvindalūr-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-Vilupparaiya-Vīrarājēnta<sup>1</sup>-Varagunarājarum Kshatriyaśinga-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttamasōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Pārmannu-kulādipa-Mūvēndavēlārum Irattakulakāla-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttama-Pāndiya-Mūvēndavēlā—
- 14 rum Vīrasōla-pPallavaraiyarun= na ri -Mūvēndavēlārum Mukkondasōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Valavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlārum-Gangaikondasōla-pPallavaraiyarun=Naduvirukkum Uruppattūr Yajña-battarun<sup>2</sup>=Sāvyana-Sīva[lā]jāti-battarun=Karippurattu=chChōladēva-battarun=Karippurattu Anantanārayana-battarum ēva=pPuravuvāri-tinaikkalattu-kkāngāni Kulaiya-divākara-Mūvēndavēlārum Arindaman Purangarambai-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-chChenni-nādukulavanum Vīrasīnga-Mūvēndavēlārum Alagiyaśōla-Vilupparaiyanum<sup>3</sup> Puravuvāri-tinaikkalañ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlārum Vānavān-Vilupparaiyanum Valavarāja-Mūvēndavēlārum Avannārayana-Mūvēndavēlāpuñ=Jingalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlārum Varippottagam Pālayūn<sup>4</sup>-kīla-
- 15 vaṇum Mugavetti Jayangondasōla-dDamanūr-nāttu-Vilupparaiyanum <sup>5</sup>[Ā]damangalamudaiyānum Atirājēnta<sup>1</sup>-pPallavaraiyanun=Kūndal-kilānum=Terippu Ingaikudaiyānum Māttūrudaiyānum Valavaśūlāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēlānum=Taravusāttu Śōladivākara-Mūvēndavēlānum Pulikilānum Palaniyāyam Pattālamudaiyānum Śembayan-Miḷalavēlānum<sup>6</sup> Araiyamānum Variyilidu Avani[p]āla-Mūvēndavēlānum Arindaman-Vilupparaiyanum Varippottaga-kaṇakku=chChangāttimaṅgalamudaiyānum Valavan-Vilupparaiyanu[m\*] Pattōlai Śīrupākkilānum Manarpākkilānum=Kēlvi-variyl-īduvitta Puravuvāri-tinaikkalañ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlānum Śingalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlānum Mugavet-
- 16 ti Śōlamā[r]ttāṇḍa-Mūvēndavēlānum=Kūndalkilānum Vāsittān-varippottaga-kkanakku=chChangāttimaṅgalamudaiyānum Variyilittān Śōla-mandalattu=pPuravuvāri-tinaikkalattu-kkaṇakku=chChōlamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēlānum Pattōlai-eludinān Vīrasōla-Nenmai-nāttu-Mūvēndavēlānum irundu yāṇḍ=aiñjāvadū nāl munnūrru-nārpattēttināl variyilitta pon elubatt-aiṇ-kalañjun(m)=i[v]v-ūr-adangalukkum vandav=i-ppāttangalum munbu i-ṭṭēvar dēvadānamāy varuṅinra pon elubatt-iru-kalañjēy-onbadu-maṇjādiyum āga=ppon=ṇūrru-nārpatt-ēlu-kalañjēy-onbadu-maṇjādikkū=ppon kalañjinukku Rājakēsariyāl nellu=ppadim-aru-kalam-āga vanda nellu irand-āyirattu munnūrr-aimbatt-onbadin-kalanē padakku munnāly-ālakke-
- 17 mu-chechevidum irayinrukku Arumolidēvan marakkāl-ākkū=kkāl-vāsiyun=kāl-alavu-kūlyun=koṇḍalavu-vāsiyum utpada Rājakēsariyār=kalam Arumolidēvan-marakkālāl kalanē tūni nā-nāly-āga vāsiy-ēru=nellu ennūrr-enbattu-nār-kalañjēy=iru-tūni mu nnāly-ālakku āga vāsiy-ēriy=Arumolidēvan-marakkālāl nellu mūv-āyiratt-irunūrru-nārpattu-mukkalañē iru-tūni-ppadakk-aru-nāly-u-lakkē mu-chechevidum ivv-ūrāl vandav=ūr=kkalañju pon kalañjun=kumara-[k]kachehānam pon kalañjun

<sup>1</sup> Read *nāra*<sup>2</sup> This word is engraved below the line<sup>3</sup> This word may also be read *Pūda*.<sup>4</sup> Read *battarum*<sup>5</sup> Read *ūr*<sup>6</sup> This word is engraved below the line.



- 22 ku nel nāḥiyum miḷagu-karī onrukku nel nāḥiyum miḷag=iru-śevīd-araikku nell=iru-nāḥiyun=neyy=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḥiyun=tayir nālikku nell=iru-nāḥiyum upp-ulakkukku nell=uriyum adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy=añ[ju]kku nel nāḥiyum verrilai=irubadukku nell=uriyum-āga=ppōd-onrukku nel eḷu-kuruniy-āga=ttiruvilav=eḷundarulu-nāl eḷi eḷundaru[lu\*]m pōdu pannirandukku nell=elu-kala[m\*] [!]\* munnēy Māśi-ttirunāl eḷundaru[lu\*]m pōdu pannirandukku mērpadiy-ākki nell=elu-kalamum [!]\* i-ttirunāl=irandilum Vīraśōḷan tiru-nandavanattir=tiruvēttaiy-elundarulu[m\*] nāl-onrukku=pperun-tiruv-amud-aṛiśi kalattukku nell=[iru-kalanē tū]ni-ppadakkum parupp-amud=iru-nālikku=ppayaru nā-nālikku nel kuruniyum porikkariy-amud=onrukku nel kuruniyum pulukku-kkariy-amud-onrukku nel kuruniyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-onrukku nel kuṟu
- 23 niyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḥiyum upp=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāḥiyum ney nālikku nel tūniyum tayir kurunukku nel padakkum adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy] nārpadukku nel kuruniyum verrilai=pparr-irandukku nel nā-nāḥiyum āra<sup>1</sup> nāl-onrukku nel mu-kkalanē tūni-ppadakku nā-nāḥiy-āga=ttiruvēttaiy-elundarulu-nāl irandukku nell=eḷu-kalanē kuruniyum [!]\* Jayantyaṣṭam-nāl Vennai-kkūttālvānukku perun-tiruv-amudukku aṛiśi tūni-ppadakkukku nel kalanē mu-kkuruniyum parupp=iru-nālikku=ppayaru nā-nālikku nel kuruniyum porikkariy-amud-onrukku nel nā-nāḥiyum pulukku-kkariy-amud-onrukku nel nā-nāḥiyum miḷagu-kariy-amudukku nel nā-nāḥiyum [miḷag=iru-śe]<sup>2</sup>vid-araikku nell=iru-nāḥiyum upp=urikku nel nāḥiyun=tayir-amudu nā-nālikku nel kuruniyum neyy-amud=ulakkukku nel kuṟuniyum adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāḥiyum verrilai=pparr-on-
- 24 űukku nell=iru-nāḥiyum āga=pperun-tiruv-amudukku nel kalanē iru-tūni añ-ñāḥiyum [!]\* aṛai-nālāl=amudu-śeyd-arula appattukk-aṛiśi kuruniy-iru-nālikku nel mu-kkuṟu<sup>1</sup> oru-nāḷi[yum] paruppu nālikku=ppayar=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāḥiyun=neyy=urikku nel padakkum śarkaraiy=irubad-palattukku nel tūniyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḥiyuñ=chīragam=iru-śevīd-araikku nell=iru-nāḥiyum upp=ulakkukku nell=uriyun=tēnkāy=ārukku nel padakku[m\*] adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy=irubadukku nel nā-nāḥiyum verrilai=pparr-onrukku nell=iru-nāḥiyum āga appav-amudu[kku\*] nel kalanē kuṟu<sup>1</sup> oru-nāḥiy-uriyum [!]\* i-tteruvil=eḷundarulināl=amudu-śeydarula vāḷaippala[m\*] muppatt-irandukku nel padakkun=tayir-amudu nā-nālikku nel kuruniyum āga Jayantyaṣṭam<sup>3</sup> nel mu-kkalanēy=aru-nāḥiy-uriyūm<sup>3</sup> [!]\* Kārttigai=kKārttigai-nāl perun-tiruv-amudukk=aṛiśi kalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūni-ppadakku=pparupp=iru-nālikku=ppayaru nā-nā-
- 25 űukku nel kuṟuniyum porikkariy-amud-onrukku nel kuṟuniyum pulukku-kkariy-amud-onrukku nel kuruniyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-onrukku nel kuruniyum pulin-kariy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟunukku nel padakkuñ=charkarai padin-palattukku nel padakkum vāḷaippalam=irubadukku nel kuruniy=iru-nāḥiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḥiyum uppu nāḥiy-urikku nel mu-nnāḥiyun=neyy-amudu nālikku nel tūniyun=tayir-amudu kurunukku nel padakkum adaikkāy-amudu verunkāy ambadukku nel kuṟuniy-iru-nāḥiyum verrilai=pparr-irandukku nel nā-nāḥiyum āga nel mu-kkalanēy=iru-tūni mu-kkuṟuniy-eḷu-nāḥiyum [!]\* i-npālil viḍiyum-alavun=tiruvunnāl-igaiyilun=tiruchchurūmāḷigaiyilum eniyum vilakk-iru-nūrrukku vilakk=onṟukk-enṟaiy-āḷakkāga enṟaiy=irubatt-añ-ñālikku=kkās=onṟe-kālum [!]\* Udayār-śi-Vīraṛā-jēntrādēvar<sup>4</sup> attai-ttirunāl Āvan-ttingal tiruv-Āyilēyattil Ālvārkku=ttirumañja-

<sup>1</sup> Read āga<sup>2</sup> Read uriyum<sup>3</sup> This portion is badly damaged<sup>4</sup> Read °nūra°.

- 26 nattukku=ttirumulaiy-atta=ppayaṟu nālik[ku] nell=iru-nāliyum=tirumulai-kkī=atta nel padakkun=kalaśam nūṟṟ ettu=chehūla nūl=oru-palattukku nel kuṟuniyum adikkīl-atta nel tūni-[ppa]dakkun=tiruchchunnattukk=ariśiy=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum=ney nā-nālikku nel kalanēy tūniyun=tayir [nā]-nālikku nel kuṟuniyum pāl nā-nālikku nel kuṟuniyum [\*] arṟai-nāl perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi kalattukku nellu iru-kalanē tūni-ppadaḥkum paruppu nā-nālikku=ppayaṟu [kuṟu\*]nikku nel padakkum pulukku-kkariy-amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuniyum pori-kkariy-amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuniyum miḷagu-kariy amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuniyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum uppu nālikku nell=iru-nāliyum pulin-kariy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟunikku nel padakkum ney nālikku nel tūniyum adaikkāy amudu veṟṟunkāy mu-ppadaḥkku nel kuṟuniy=iru nāliyum verrilai-kkattu mūnṟukku nell=aṟu-nāli[yu\*]m pulin-karikku=chcharkarai padin palattukku nel pa-
- 27 dakkum vāḷaiṭṭaḷam=irubaḍukku nel kuṟuniy=iru nāliyum āga nell=aṟu-kalanē ain-kuṟuniy=iru-nāliyum [\*] 1-ttirunāḷaikk=ttirumulaiy-atta=ppāḷigai-sūḷa=ppudavaiy=onrun=kalattin-mēḷadi=ppudavaiy=onṟum tirumañjanam<sup>1</sup>-pannum=āchāṟi[ya]nikku udukkavum uttarī[ya]mum=ida=ppudavaiy=irandum=āga=ppudavai nālukku=kkās=onrun=tirumañjanam<sup>1</sup>=āḍiy-arula=ttēn nā-nālikku=kkās=araiyum kulakundan mañjal=ambadin-palattakku=kkāśu kālum snapana-dravyaṅgaḷ kolla=kkās=araiyum tiru-mañjanam<sup>1</sup>-āḍināl śāṭṭa paṟisattam=onṟukku=kkās=onṟum snapanam-pannuvikkum āchāriyanukku dakshinai kās=onṟum arṟai-nālār<sup>2</sup>=tiruvōlakkañ=chēvikka vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavarkkun=tiruv[āy]moḷi viḷṇnappañ=cheyvārkun=kudukkum paṟisattav=uru=ppattukku=ttaniy=onru kāśu kāl-āga=kkās=irand-araiyum [\*] ittirunā[\*] ṣollun=tiruvukku=ppaṟisattattukku=kkās=araiyum [\*] ittanmaṇṇun=tiruchchurumāḷigaiyuñ=Jananādan-maṇḍapamuñ=cheyvi-
- 28 yṭṭa Vaiśyan Māḍavan Dāmāyan piraṇḍa Kārttigai-ttingal=pPūrāḍatti-nāl=ttirumañ-junattukkum<sup>3</sup> perun-tiruv-amudukkun=nell=aṟu-kalanēy ain-kuṟuniy=iru-nāliyum ippadikk=ttirumañjunattukku<sup>3</sup> vēnduvana kollavum paṟisattam peṟuvārku=ppari-śāṭṭan=kudukkavum mēṟṟadiy-āga=kkās=ārē-kālum [\*] Purattādi=ttiruvōnatti-nāl Vennaikkūttāḷvān Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=elund-arulināl appa-amudukk=ariśi ain-kuṟunikku nel kalanē [nā]-nāliyuñ=charkarai mu-nnūṟṟu-ppalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūni-ppadaḥkum ney mu-nnālikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuñ=chāḡattukkum uppuḥkum nel mu-kkuṟuniyum adaikk[āy-a]mud=enbaḍukku nel=ppadaḥkum veṟṟilai=kkatt-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum [ā]ga nel aiyin-kalamum [\*] amāvāsyaiyil Ālvān tīrttham prasāḍittāl tīrttham=āḍa-vandār puṟambil Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=unnum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar irupadinmaṟku=ppērāl=ariśi nāliy-urīy-āga ariśi mu-kkuṟuni-
- 29 y aṟu-nālikku nell=iru-tūni kuṟuni mu-nnāliyum pulukku-kkariy=onṟukku nel ai-ñāliyum miḷagu-kariy=onṟukku nel ai-ñāliyum pulitta-kariy=onṟukku=ppaliy-utpaḍa nel=kkuṟuniy-oru-nāliyum ilai-kkarikku nell=iru-nāliyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum neyy=ūḷakkukku nel=kkuṟuniyum mōṟ padakkukku nel=kkuṟuniy-iru-nāliyuñ=charkarai nāṟ-palattukku nel=kkuṟuniyum veṟṟunkāy nārpadukku nel=kkuṟuniyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-irandukku nel nā-nāliyum aḍuvān=oruvanukku nel=kkuṟuniyum āga amāvāsyai onṟukku nel=kkalanēy=elū-kuruṇi mu-nnāliy=āga amāvāsyai pannirandukku nel=ppattonbaḍin kalanē tūni nā-nāliyum=Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai=(t) tīrttham-āḍa=pperun-kūttamāy vandu Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=unnum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūṟṟuvarkku=ppērāl ariśi nāliy-

<sup>1</sup> Read *janam*<sup>2</sup> Read *nālāl*.<sup>3</sup> Read *tirumañjanam*.

- uriy-āga arisi kalanē tūni=ppadakk-arunālīkku nel mu-kkalanēy=iru-tūni=ppadakk=eļu-nāliyum payaru kurunīkku nel=ppadakkum pulukku-kkariy=onrukku
- 30 nel mu-kkurunīyum mīlagu-kariy=onrukku nel mu-kkurunīyum pulitta-kariy onrukku=ppuliy=utpada nel=ttūnīyum ilai-kkariy=onrukku nel=kkurunīyum mīlagu mūlakkukku nel mu-kkurunīyum uppu=kkurunīkku nel=ppadakkum neyy=iru-nālīkku nell=iru-tūnīyum mōr kalattukku nel tūni=ppadakkum pulin-karīkku mōrukku nel tūni=ppadakkum śarkarai irubatt-iru palattukku nel tūnīyum verunkāy=iru-nūrrukku nel an-kurunīyum verilai=ppari-ettukku nel=ppadakkum aduvār=iruvarkku nel tūnīyum śunnāmbukku nel nā-nāliyum vnaḡ-iduvān=oruvanukku nel=ppadakkum ilai-kkariy-iduvān=oruvanukku nel=ppadakkum āga nel en-kalanēy-iru-tūni mu-nnāliyum [i\*] ivargal tīrttham-ādi mīndu vandāl Śrī-Vaishnavar nūrruvarkku mērpadiy-ākki nell=en-kalanēy=iru-tūni mu nnāliyum [i\*] Purattādi=tīruvōnattī-nāl tīrttham=āda vanda Śrī Vaishnavar nūrruvarkku mērpadiy=ākki nell=en-kalanēy=iru-tūni mu-nnāliyum Aippaśi=tirunālil=ttiruvilāv-elundaru[lu\*]=nāl=ārīl nāl onrīl=unnum Śrī-Va-
- 31 shnava(r)r=irubatt-añj-āga nāl=ārīl=unnum Śrī-Vaishnavar nūrr-aimbādum tīrttham-ādum-anr=unnum Śrī-[Vaishnavar=ai]mbādum āga n[e]lu-kalanē tūni=aru-nāliyum [i\*] Mārgal=ttiruv-ēkādaśiyilun=dvādaśiyilun=Tiruvāymoli kēṭka vanda Śrī-Vaishnavarkk=i . nell=en-kalanēy=iru-tūni mu-nnāliyum [i\*] Mā-
- 32 śi-Maga-ttirunālil i-mmaṇḍapattil=unnum Śrī-Vaishnavar=iru-nūrruvarkku mērpadiy-ākki nel padī[n-elukalanē tūni]y<sup>1</sup>=aru-nāliyum [i\*] tīru<sup>2</sup>vanukku nāl=onrukku nell=aru-nāliyum kās=onrum Tiruvāymoli vinnappañcheyvār=iruvarku=ppērāl nellu=kku . . .<sup>2</sup>nrukku nel mu-kkurunīyum pērār=kās=irand-ā-
- 33 ga=kkāśu nālum Vīraśōlan-tirunandavanam ulappār nālvarukku=ppērāl nel=kkurunīy-āga nāl=onrukku nel tūni . =<sup>2</sup>ttiruv-utsavangalukkun=tirumañjunangalukkum<sup>3</sup> nāt=cholli nāl-ōlai tūkkun=tiruvukku nāl=onrukku nel kurunī . . .<sup>2</sup>[rī]dayir=ērri=kkadamai tandi nimandañchelutti
- 34 nīrkum Vaikhānasa dēvakanmī[y-oru]vanukku nāl=onrukku nel kuṇunīyun=kāśu nālun=kanakk-eļudi nīrkun=ka<sup>4</sup>l=onrukku nel kuṇunīyun=kāśu nālun=Ālvārku=ttirumañjunangalukkum<sup>3</sup> vēṇḍun=kalaśamun=tirumadaipallikkun=Jananādan-man<sup>4</sup>lidaigalukkun=Śāstrarkum Ātula śālakku vē-
- 35 ndun=kalam-īdun=kuśavanukku nāl=onrukku nel kuṇunīyum Ālvārku=ppariśattamuñ=Jananādan-maṇḍapattil=ōdu . . .<sup>4</sup>ōttu=kkētpārkkum ātularkum olikkum=īrañkollikku[m\*] nāl=onrukku nel nā-nāliyum Jananādan-maṇḍapamum Ātula-śālaiyum nūmāda . . . .<sup>5</sup>kun=tirumeykāvalō Tirumukkūdaḡ-Pēraiyānukku
- 36 nāl=onrukku nel nā-nāliyun=kās=onrum tīruchohurumālīgai pudukkuppurattukku nel nārpadin-kalamuñ=ja . . .<sup>6</sup>-maṇḍapattil Rī(Rī)g-vēdam=ōduvippan=

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stone. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab

<sup>3</sup> Read *tirumañjana*.

<sup>4</sup> The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar

<sup>5</sup> The letters have peeled off

<sup>6</sup> For dots read *naṇḍāṭṭa*.

- oruvanukku nāl=onrukku nel padakkum Yajur-vēdam=ōduvippan=oruvanukku  
nāl-onruk[ku nel] padakkum ivargal=iruvarkum pērār=kāśu nāl-āga=kkā-
- 37 ś=ettum Vyākaranamum Rūpāvat[āram]um vakkānikkum Bhattan=oruvanukku nāl=onrukku nel tūnyum kāśu pattum R[ig-vēdam ō]<sup>1</sup>dum Brāhmanar padimmarum Yajur-vvēdam ōdum Brāhmanar padimmaru[m] Vyākaranamum Rūpāvatāramun=kētkum Brāhmanaru[m\*] chāttirar=irupadinmarum Mahā Pāñ-[charāttirar=oru]<sup>1</sup>padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmanar mūvarum Vaikhānasar aivarum
- 38 ti mār=iruvaram āga ōduv[ārum] ōttu-kkēlpārum=āga arupadinmarkku=ppērāl=arīśi nāli-y-āga nāl=onrukk=arī[śi tū]<sup>2</sup>ni mu-kkuruniy-iru-nālikku nell=iru-kalanē tūny-oru-nāliyum payaru nā nālikku nel kuruniyum puḷukku-kkarikku nell=aru-nāliyum ilai-kka-
- 39 rikku nel mu-nnāliyu[m] mīlagu-karikku nel kuruniyum puḷṭṭa-karī[k\*]ku puliy utpada nel kuruniyum mīlag-ulakk-ālakukku ne[l nā-nāli]<sup>2</sup>yum uppu nālikku nel kuruniyum ney nālikku nel tūnyum mōr tūni-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkuruniyum veruñkāy-arubadukku nel kuru[ni nā-nā]<sup>3</sup>liyum verṭilai parṭṭirandukku nel nā-nāliyum
- 40 Vayalaikkāvūr-ninru arīśi koduvandu viragum=ilaiyum=ittu=ttanṇir=attiy=adu-madaiyar mūvarkku=ppērāl kuruniy-āga [nāl-on]<sup>3</sup>rukku nel mu-kkuruniyum pērār=kāś-irand-āga=kkāś=ārum i-mmandapatt-unnuñ=chāttirarkkun=kidaigalukkum paṇi-śeyyum penduga[l-iruvark]<sup>3</sup>ku=ppērāl nellu nā-nāli-y-āga nāl-onrukku
- 41 nel kuruniyum pērār=kāś=onr-āga=kkāś=irandum chāttirarkkun=kidaigalukkum ātular-kkum kiḍakka=ppāy=eḷupat[taindu]kku=kkāś=irandum kiḍaigalukkuñ=chāttir-ai-kkun=talaikk=atta=chchaniy-onrukk=ennaiy=iru-nāli-y-āga ānd onṇir=chaṇi ambatt-onrukk=[ennai]<sup>1</sup> nūṇṇ-iru-nālikkum Jananādan-mandapatt=ōttu-
- 42 kkētpārkku irāy-eriyum vilakk=onrukk=ennai ulakk-āga ānd-onrukk=ennai tonnūṇṇ-nāliyu[m ivv-e]<sup>4</sup>ṇṇai nūṇṇ-ir-ir-nālikku=kkāś-onrukk=ennaiy-irupadi-nāli-y-āga=kkāś=onbad-araiyēy-araikkāluñ=Jananādan-mandapat[tukku]<sup>5</sup>=ppudukkuppurattukku nel nārpadin-ka[lamu]m [i\*] ātu-
- 43 [la]r-śālai Virasōlanil vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkidappār padamaiyarkku=ppērāl=arīśi nāli-y-āga arīśi kuruniy-eḷu-nālikku nel [tāṇi a]<sup>6</sup>nāli-y-urium vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkidapparkkum pala-paṇi-nimandakkārarkkum kiḍaigalukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vaidyañ-cholla=kkāy-āga=ttanakkun=tan [vargat]<sup>5</sup>tākkum perṇuḍaṇya Alappākkattu Savaraṇan
- 44 Kōḍaṇḍarāman Aśvatthāma-Bhattanukku nāl-onrukku nel mu-kkuruniyum kāś=ēttuñ=chaliyakkiriyai=pannuvā[n=oruva]<sup>7</sup>nukku nāl-onrukku nel kuruniyum ātular-kku marundugalukku vēndu[m\*] marundu parṭṭum virag-ittum paṇiyāram-pannuvār=iru[varu]kku=p[pērāl]<sup>6</sup> nāl=onrukku nel kuruniy-āga nel padakkum pērā-
- 45 p=kāś=onrāga=kkāś=irandum ātular-kku vēndum paṇiyāram paṇi marund-ādum pendu-gal-iruvarkku=ppērāl=a[rīśi nā]<sup>7</sup>-nāli-y-āga nāl-onrukku nel kuruniyum pērār=kā-

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

<sup>2</sup> This is filled up by calculation.

<sup>3</sup> Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

<sup>4</sup> Here is an unscripted slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

<sup>5</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up *in situ* from stone.

<sup>6</sup> The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

<sup>7</sup> Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

- araiy-āga=kkās=onrum ātularkkun=kidaigalukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vēndum pani-  
sey[yum nā]<sup>1</sup>viśan=oruvanukku nāl-onrukku nel nā-nāli
- 46 yum [i\*] āturaśālai Viraśōlanil ānd-onrill=idu[m\*] marundu Brāhmyam-ka[dumbūm]y=  
onrum karungāy nīnga ippadi dum Vāśā-harītakī=ppadiy=  
irandum Daśamūla-harītakī padiy=onrum Bhallātaka-harītakī padiy=onrum  
Gandīram [padi]y<sup>1</sup>=onrum Balākērandā-tailam tūniyum Pañchā-
- 47 ka<sup>2</sup>-tailan=tūniyum Laśunādy<sup>3</sup>-ērandā-tailan=tūniyum=Uttamakarnādi-tailan=tūniyum=U  
4[pa]dakkuñ=Suk 4sā-ghritam pada-  
kku[m\*] Bilvādi-ghritam padakkum Mandū[ka]ra-vatakam irand-āyiramum Dravattī  
nāliyum Vimalai irand-āyiramum Sunētriy<sup>5</sup>=irand-āyiramun=<sup>6</sup>Tamrādiy=irand-āyira-  
mum Vajrakalpan=tūni-ppa
- 48 dakkum Kalyāna-lavanan=tūni-ppadakkum ivaiy=adugaikku vēndum marun[du\*]galu-  
kkum ne 4[raiyum] tē 4yum ulittana  
kollavum āndu-tōrum Purānasarpai pudakkā=ppaśuvi[n\*] ney padakkun=kollavum  
(k)kāśu nārpādum [ātura]<sup>7</sup>śālaiyill=irāy=eriyum vilakk=onrukk=ennaiy=ālakk-ā-
- 49 ga nāl mu-nūrr-arupadukk=ennai nārpatt-ai-ññālikku kās=irandē-kālum Jananādan-ma-  
4nbi tan 4yanukku=pPanguniy-uttiran=  
tudangi=pPurattādi=tTiruvōnatt-alavum parambāl=ūra=ttannir koduvandu vai[ttu=  
chchāy]<sup>8</sup>ppān oruvaṇukku nāl-onrukku nel kuruniy=ā-
- 50 ga nāl nūr-enbadukku nel padinain-kalamum ēlattukkum ilāmachchattukkum  
nell=iru<sup>4</sup> 9padakkun=ta 4nyāham  
pannina Brāhmanarkku<sup>10</sup>-tdakshinakkum verilai verunkāykkum nel kalanē tūni-  
iru-nāli mūlak[kē mu]<sup>11</sup>-chechevidum Vayalaikkāvūr kāniyudaiya Mādhavan Dāma-
- 51 yan varggattārkkum=pPurattādi=tTiruvōnatt-nāl kudukkum [pa]rīśattam irandukku=  
kkās=onrey=e[u-mā 4mūv-āyiratt-irunūrru-nārpattu-mu-  
kkalanēy=iru-tūni-ppadakk=aru-nāliy=ulakkē mu-chehevittukkum kās=iru-nūrr=oru-  
batt-ār-araiyēy=iran[du-mā]<sup>5</sup>vukkum [i\*] ikkāś=udavāvidil kās=onrukku=tTandavāniyō-
- 52 d-okkum pon kāśu-nīrai=kkāl iḍuvad-āgavum[<sup>1</sup>] ippadi yāndu ārāvadu nīmandañ=cheyda-  
paḍi in 4lumudattu chā[tti]ra-kkankāniyōdum kida-  
kkankāniyōdum śellakkadavad-āga nīvandam śēdapadikkum kallu vettuvittār i-  
n[nādu kūru]<sup>12</sup>seyda adigāṁgal Śōla-mandalattu Vijaiyarājētra<sup>13</sup>-va-
- 53 lanāttu Idayala-nāttu [Mīna]<sup>14</sup>rkudaiyān Paśuvati Tiruvarangadēvanār=āna  
Rājētra<sup>15</sup>-Mūvēndavēlār Pāna] 15ēva=kkallu vettuvittān Jayangonda-

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*

<sup>2</sup> The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.

<sup>3</sup> The syllables *śunādyēra* have been read *in situ*

<sup>4</sup> Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one

<sup>5</sup> The syllables *nētriy* have been restored by reading on the spot

<sup>6</sup> Read *Tām*

<sup>7</sup> The letters *ātura* are entered below the line

<sup>8</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone

<sup>9</sup> The syllables *ost* here must be *padin kalanēy=iru tūni*

<sup>10</sup> Read *dda*

<sup>11</sup> A pillar obstructs these two letters

<sup>12</sup> The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar Restored from stone

<sup>13</sup> Read *ndra*

<sup>14</sup> The two syllables are lost in the original

<sup>15</sup> The syllables *ēva=kkā* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

sōla-mandalattu=pPulaṅ-kōttatt-Āgudī-nāttu Ayandampākkattu Iṟavēttan  
Kumara-Pāsūr=kkattan=āna<sup>1</sup> Virarājēnta<sup>2</sup>-chChembiyadarayan[<sup>3</sup>] Inda danma[m\*]  
śeyvitta Dāmayanār

54 maga[n] Dāmayan Gangaikondaśōlan-āna Sēnāpatigal Gangaikondaśōla-Daṁmapālāṅkkum  
iṟar tambiyār Dā n-āna Sēnāpatigal Virarājēnta<sup>2</sup>-Daṁmapālāṅkku-  
māy idu kallu vettuvittān Jayangondaśōla-mandalattu Pulaṅ-kōttattu r-  
nāttu [Śā] turvēḍimanga[la\*]ttu Brāhmanan Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśi-  
vāyadēvan magan

55 Taluvakkulaṁdān-āna Abhimānamēru-Brahmamārāyan [<sup>4</sup>] I-dharmam(m) śrī-Madhurān-  
taka-chchatu[rvēḍimanga]<sup>5</sup>lattu Mahāsabhaiyār rākshai [<sup>6</sup>] Śrī [ || ]

#### Abstract of Contents <sup>4</sup>

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*With the aid of*) his strong shoulders, (*wherein the goddess of*) Prosperity resided, (*the king*) bore the circle of the wide earth as (*lightly as*) his jewel of gems ; under the shade of (*his*) victorious white parasol (*set with*) numerous gems, (*he*) protected the living beings of the earth more (*tenderly*) than the mother who bore (*them*) , (*he*) conducted (*his*) rule (*so as to cause*) other kings (*wearing*) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (*forced*) the rent Kālī (*age*) to retire to (*it*) abysmal abode (*He*) drove from the battle-field of Gaṅgāpādi the great feudatory chiefs (*sāmantas*) whose strong hands (*carried*) tightly-bound bows, (*and forced them*) along with Vikkalan (*who wore*) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadra. (*He made such an*) attack (*as to cause*) the destruction of the irresistably great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi , and fought<sup>6</sup> with Mahādandanāyaka Chāmundaṛāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (*i e*, Chāmundaṛāja's) incomparable<sup>8</sup> daughter called Nāgalai (*who was*) the queen of Irugaiyan and (*who*) resembled a peacock in beauty

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless *sāmantas* along with the (*two*) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Singanan at Kūdal-Saṅgama on the great waters, whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time , and with (*his*) rut elephant, he agitated that army (*of the enemy*) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean , he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Singan of Kōsalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard , he (*also*) cut to pieces Kēśavadandanāyaka and Kettaraśān, Mārayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraśān and Rēchchayan, Poṅkōḍai and Mūvēṇḍi who were fighting (*fiercely*), and many (*other*) unknown *sāmantas* who offered (*him*) battle . Then Muduvanan, who was the commander,<sup>7</sup> fled , Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled , Singanan fled leaving off the field-work , all the other chiefs of the elder brother<sup>8</sup> dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled , and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,<sup>9</sup> ran before them (*all*) He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (*enemies'*) wives, their family treasures,

<sup>1</sup> The letters *tan-āna* are obstructed by a pillar

<sup>2</sup> Read *ōndra*

<sup>3</sup> The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone

<sup>4</sup> Prof Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp 36ff of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III

<sup>5</sup> The word *śerravan* is a compound of *śerru* and *avan*

<sup>6</sup> May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter'

<sup>7</sup> The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'

<sup>8</sup> *Annaḷ* may also mean 'the king'

<sup>9</sup> The word *nannina* means also 'who was in close quarters'



conches, parasols, trumpets (*tāra*), big drums, canopies (*mēghadambara*), white fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses, (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamulududaiyāl**, put on the victorious crown set with gems

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapī** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kuśar*), and of the **Kērala** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (*powerful on account of his*) elephants<sup>1</sup> as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with wreaths<sup>2</sup>, (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vīra-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāndya king **Śrīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings<sup>3</sup>

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Rattas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*them*)<sup>4</sup>, and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water<sup>5</sup> he cut off the heads of the following Dandanāyakas — Villyannan<sup>6</sup> of great valour, Vañjippayan<sup>6</sup>, who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyannan of brilliant valour, Pattiyannan (*the minister of*) peace and war, Vimayan, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, Vangāran of great wisdom, the Ganga (*king*) of dreadful lance, the Nulamba (*king*) and the king of the Kādavas as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gangā, the Chālukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūdal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūdal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Ganga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Rattappādī and asked him to take it, and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōla king*), his (*i e*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dēvanāthan, Siddhi and Kēśi turned their backs

(*The Chōla king*) subdued the powerful activity of Rattappādī 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for bards*) to sing and set crackling fire on it, and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadra-tūn*) on the bank of the Tungabhadra so that the world<sup>7</sup> praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully

<sup>1</sup> *Varangi* is the reading in No 20 of *S I I*, Vol III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *sārana* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces cf 'palyānai kō kKaṇḍan'

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *Dhāra*, it is preferable to read 'tār'

<sup>3</sup> See note 6 on page 37 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III

<sup>4</sup> Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus—"tied up in stables the Rattas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyar which he had seized"

<sup>5</sup> This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S I I*, Vol III, p 68

<sup>6</sup> *Māliyanṇaṇ* and *Mangippayan* are the readings in No 30 of the same Volume

<sup>7</sup> *Nūṁṭan* means 'four kinds of lands, i e, *kuṭṭunṇ*, *mullai*, *palaṇ* and *neydal*--grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts' and hence 'the world'

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kanthikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the **Kuntala** king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz —that he would destroy the state of the Chālukyan (*lordship*), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (*the following*) word to be announced “Hear this and if you have (*any*) power, come and protect yourself”

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (*enemies*) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of **Vijayavādai** (*i e*, Bezvāda), he (*the Chōla*) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananādaṇ and Tipparaśaṇ, caused his elephants (*pōdakam*) to drink the water of the Gōdāvarī, crossed the seven Kalingas, and led his swelling elephant forces (*tānar-tāvadi*) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (*mountain*) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (*that country*) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (*which were adorned with*) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (*the city of*) **Gangāpurī** leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (*itself*) to him. There, he assumed the *damanaga* as the lord of the earth (*under the titles*) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems, exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of **Vēṅgi**, removed the *āl* and *mgala*<sup>1</sup> and fulfilled his vow.

(*Putting forth*) a number of ships (*laden with*) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (*the Chōla king*) began to wage a war in **Ilam** (*i e*, Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-taraiyan who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (*the charge of the Chōlas*) with the result that **Vijayabāhu**, the king (*of the island*) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (*the Chōla king*) took his queen captive, conquered . . . carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Lankā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (*the Chōla king*) obstructed at **Koṇḍai** where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (*there*) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan Mārayan, Manmagaṇḍayan, . . . . . Kondayan, Āchchidaran . . . . . and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (*in their flight*) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. ottumadayyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sāmantas*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (*in the field*) and received as before a *param*. Tuṇnamārāyan, . . . , Kēsavan, . . . , who were subdued by his forces . . . the sound . . . . . and (*he*) planted . . . . .  
 . . . , Singaṇan, who was resting under a flag, . . . . .  
 a pillar of victory at Pul-Šūttukkal, where, getting up a hull . . . . .  
 and mounted on a vehicle (*yānar*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (*by the name*) . . . . .  
 Šōḷiyavaraiyan, . . . . . -daṇḍanāyaka . . . . . fought. He sent

<sup>1</sup> The word *mgala* is phonetically connected with the skt *mgala* ‘fettors or shackles’, and thus may be construed to convey the idea of ‘armour.’

forth a (very) sea of army in **Kalingam** his chief  
 feudatories at **Chakkarakōttam** and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (*forces*) of the  
 Chālukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōttam in the North The bowman  
 Sōmayan of **Sōnayanagar**, Eriyaman, Ādityavarman of fearful trident,—these with clusters  
 of heads that were cut off,—Malli, Sōgaiya n, who wore  
 ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidumba, Dēvanātha, Dēviko along with herds  
 of camels and the reward of ornaments were looted in order  
 and ran with broken hearts The wife of  
 nathan trembling with fear, **Kāliyappai**, his younger brother and  
 others together with crowds of their ladies wearing *tumbai* garlands, fell in his hands in the great  
 field of **Kāvi** and were caught

Removing the sons of lamayan, (*the Chōla king*) crossed the boundary and  
 fixed the limit, wielded his sceptre from the **Himālayas** in the northern quarter, where the  
 tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the **Sētu** (in the south), propagated the Vēdic lore, assumed  
 possession of kingly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the  
 banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Manu (*He*), i e, king  
**Rājakēsarivarman** alias **Udayār** the glorious **Virarājēndradēva**, in the fifth year of his  
 reign was pleased to be seated on (*the seat called*) Rājēndraśōla-Māvalivānarājan in the Royal  
 palace of Śōlakēralan at Gangaikondaśōlapuram

**Vayalaikkāvūr** in Tērōdu-Paruvūr-nādu, (*a sub division*) of **Kāliyūr-kōttam** was a  
*devadāna* of (*the temple of*) **Mahāvishnu** at **Tirumukkūdal** in the prosperous **Madhurāntaka-**  
**chaturvēdimangalam** (*which was*) a free village in **Kalattūr-kōttam**, (*a district*) of  
**Jayangondachōlamandalam** The residents of this village were paying 75 *kalañju* of gold for  
 the feeding house (*śālan*) This amount of 75 *kalañju* of gold was deducted from the accounts and  
 assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Ulaguyyakkondarulinadēva who took  
 Rattappādī 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i e, defeated) Āhavamalla This (*amount*)  
 together with the taxes accruing from the village, viz, *Ūr kalañju*, *kumārakkachchānam*,  
*vannārappārai*, *mīnpāttam*, *tattārapāttam*, etc, forming the *kīlirappāttam*, *vēlakkāśu*, *tingalmērā*,  
*muttāvaranam*, *iarippudārai*, *valangai* and *idangai*—*maganmai*, *daśabandam*, *mādaikkūl*, *vīrasēshar*,  
 etc, forming the *pāttam*—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year  
 of (*his*) reign, as a tax-free *devadāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (*god*) Mahāvishnu at  
 Tirumukkūdal This Royal mandate (*kēlvu*) was written by *Tirumandiravōlan* Tālī Tiruppanan-  
 gādudaiyān alias Vānavan Vallavaraiyan of Nērvāyil, in Panaiyūr-nādu, (*a sub-division*) of  
 Kshatriyasikhāmani-valanādu and signed by *Tirumandiravōlan-nāyagam* Pāndiyanār Rājārāja-  
 Brahmanārāyar and Virarājēndra-Gāngaiyārājan That it may be so entered in the account  
 was ordered by Villavarājar, Kalīgattaraiyar, *Vīḍanyil* Rājēndravayirāgarachchōlan and  
 Pāndiyanār, and further endorsed by (1) the *Udanakūttam* officers Virarājēndra-Brahmādhirājar,  
 (2) Śōla-Brahmanārāyar, (3) Śēmbiyan Śittirājar, (4) Atisayaśōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (5) Jayangon-  
 daśōla-Vilupparaiyar, (6) Uttamaśōla Pallavaraiyar, (7) the *Vīḍanyil* officers Kādavarājar,  
 (8) Kāvērivallabha-Mūvēndavēlār, (9) Ilattaraiyar, (10) Śōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (11) Virarājēndra-  
 Maḷavarājar, (12) Valavan-Mūvēndavēlār, (13) Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēlār, (14) Rājārāja-  
 Kadigairājar, (15) Jayangondaśōla Mūvēndavēlār, (16) Rājēndraśōla-Anuklappallavaraiyar,  
 (17) Śēmbiyan-Brahmanārāyar, (18) Sundaraśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (19) Jayangondaśōla-  
 Vayanāttaraiyar, (20) Jayangondaśōla-Sēnāmuga-Mūvēndavēlār, (21) Śōlavilupparaiyar,  
 (22) Jayaśinga-kulakāla-Vilupparaiyar, (23) Virarājēndra-Tiruvindaḷūrnāttu-Mūvēndavēlār, (24)  
 Rājārāja-Vilupparaiya-Virarājēndra-Vāragunarājar, (25) Kshatriyaśinga-Mūvēndavēlār, (26)  
 Uttamaśōla-Mūvēndavēlār, (27) Pārmannu-kulādīpa-Mūvēndavēlār, (28) Rattakulakāla-  
 Mūvēndavēlār, (29) Uttamapāndiya-Mūvēndavēlār, (30) Vīraśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (31)

-Mūvēndavēlar, (32) Mudikondaśōla-Mūvēndavēlar, (33) Valavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlar, (34) Gangaikondaśōla-Pallavaraiyar, (35) *Naduvirukkum* Uruppuṭṭūr-Yajña-Bhatta, (36) Sāvyaṇa Śivalajjādi Bhatta, (37) Karippurattu Śōladēva-Bhatta and (38) Karippurattu-Anantanārāyaṇa-Bhatta

Then the following persons being present viz, *Puravuvartinaikkalattu-kankāmi* Kuvalaiyadivākara-Mūvēndavēlar, Arindaman-Purangarambamāttu-Mūvēndavēlan, Rājarāja-Śeṇṇinādukulavan, Viraśinga-Mūvēndavēlan, Alagiyaśōla-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravuvartinaikkalam* Śalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlan, Vānavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Valavarāja-Mūvēndavēlan, Avaniṇārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēlan, Śingalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlan, *Varippottagam* Pālaiyūr-kūḷavan, *Mugavetti* Jayangondaśōla-Damanūrnāttu-Viḷupparaiyan, Ādamangalamudaiyān, Atirājendra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūndalkilān, *Terippu* Īṅgaikkudaiyān, Māttūrudaiyān, Valavaśūlāmami Mūvēndavēlan, *Taravusāttu* Śōladivākara-Mūvēndavēlan, Puḷkūlān, *Palaniyāyam* Pattālamudaiyān, Śembiyan-Milalaivēlan, Araiyamān, *Variyūdu* Avanipāla-Mūvēndavēlan, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottaga-kanakku* Sangattimangalamudaiyān, Valavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Pattōlai* Śirupākkilān, Manarpākkilān, *Kēlvi-variyūduvitta* *Puravuvartinaikkalam* Śalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlan, Śingalāntaka-Mūvēndavēlan, *Mugavetti* Śōlamārtānda-Mūvēndavēlan, Kūndalkilān, *Vāṣittān* *varippottaga-kanakku* Sangattimangalamudaiyān, *Variyūttān* *Puravuvartinaikkalattu-Kanakku* Śōlamānikka-Mūvēndavēlan of Śōlamandalam, *Pattōlai-eludinān* Viraśōla-Nenmalināttu-Mūvēndavēlan,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts that for the 75 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāttams* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *maṇṇādi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṇṇu* and 9 *maṇṇādi*, the income in paddy by the *rājakēsaṇi* measure at 16 *kaḷam* per *kaḷaṇṇu* was 2359 *kaḷam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāl*, 1 *ālakku* and 3 *śevdu*. This when converted into *arumōḷidēvan* measure, at the rate of 1 *kaḷam*, 1 *tūni*, and 4 *nāl* of *arumōḷidēvan* for a *kaḷam* of *rājakēsaṇi*, became, inclusive of *kālvāśi*, *kālavavukūḷi* and *korralavuvāśi*, 884 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *nāl*, and 1 *ālakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kaḷam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāl*, 1 *ūḷakku* and 3 *śevdu* of *arumōḷidēvan*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz, 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *ūrkaḷaṇṇu*, 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *kumarakachchānam*,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *mīn-pāttam*,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold by *kīḷirappāttam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḍai* and 7 *mā*, or  $36\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu*, together with  $28\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* and 4 *mā* by *daśabandam*,  $25\frac{3}{4}$  *kāśu* and 3 *mā* by *māḍaikkūḷi*, 3 *kāśu* by the account of *mudal-ślavu*,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* by *vannakkakūḷi*,  $\frac{3}{4}$  *kāśu* by *muttāvaranam*,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* by *tingalmēra*, 118 *kāśu* by *vēlkkāśu*, made a total of 216 $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāśu*

For one *śrūḷkāḷai-śāndi* offering to the Ālvār —

(L 18) One *padakku* and four *nāl* of paddy for one *kurumi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kurumi* of *payaru*, 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *pulukkukaru* (boiled curry), 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkaru* (fried curry), 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *uri* of curd, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 1 *ūḷakku* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of salt, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kurumi*, 5 *nāl* and 3 *ūḷakku* of paddy for one *śāndi*.

For the *akkāradalai* offering at the Viraśōlan —

(L 19) 1 *kurumi* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of *paruppu* or 1 *kurumi* of *payaru*, 1 *kurumi* and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 6 *nāl* of milk, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *tūni*, 1 *kurumi*, 3 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *akkāradalai* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāśu* cost 20 *kāśu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōnagam* at night —

(L 19f) 1 *kurumi* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of rice, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of milk, 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee for *pōnagam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kurumi* and 1 *nāl* of paddy for the night offering

(L 20) For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī —

1 *kurumi* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of rice, and 4 *nāl* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurumi* and 6 *nāl* of paddy

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār —

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāśu*, costs  $22\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  *kālañṇu* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs  $22\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu* at  $\frac{1}{2}$  a *kālañṇu* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāśu* And 1 *kāśu* is required for *kunkumam*

(L 21) For lamps —

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *ulakku* and 1 *ālakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn, 1 *ulakku* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śevīdu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  *śevīdu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāl*, 1 *ālakku* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śevīdu* of oil per day The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāl* and 1 *uri*<sup>1</sup>, which, at 20 *nāl* per *kāśu*, cost  $22\frac{1}{2}$  *kāśu*

(L 21) For Aippaśi festival to Alagiyamanavālar —

5 *kurumi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of rice, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāl* of paddy for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śevīdu* of pepper, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurumi* Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(Ll 22-23) For the Māśi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraśōlan —

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 1 *pulukku kari*, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of salt, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurumi* of curd, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 40 areca nuts, and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam* 1 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* and 4 *nāl* of paddy for an occasion Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurumi*

(Ll 23-24) For offerings during *Jayantyashṭamī* to Vennaikkūttālvār, i e, Kṛishṇa

1 *kalam* and 3 *kurumi* of paddy for 6 *kurumi* of rice, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāl* of paddy for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śevīdu* of pepper, 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of curd, 1 *kurumi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, and 5 *nāl* of paddy For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurumi* and 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *kurumi* and 2 *nāl* of rice, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāl*

<sup>1</sup> By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāl* and 1 *uri* It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāl*.

of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 cocoanuts, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kurun*, 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kurun* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantiyaṣṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll 24-25) For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttiṅgai in the month of Kārttiṅgai —

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūn* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurun* of curd required for 1 *pulingari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurun* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 3 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūn* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurun* of curd, 1 *kurun* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 50 areca nuts, and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūn*, 3 *kurun* and 7 *nāl* of paddy. 1¼ *lāṣu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāl* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *ālakku* for a lamp.

(Ll 25-26) Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Āyilēya* (*Āślēṣha*) in the month *Āvani*, of king Virarājendra, are as follows —

2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumañjanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalaśas* (pots), 1 *tūn* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalaśas*, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūn* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of curd, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūn* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurun* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurun* of curd required for 1 *pulingari*, 1 *tūn* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *kurun* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāl* of paddy for 3 *kattu* of betel leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *pulingari* and 1 *kurun* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurun* and 2 *nāl* of paddy.

(L 27) For this festival are required one *pudavar* (cloth) for covering the *pāṣaṇ* kept for sprouting, one *pudavar* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *pudavar*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāṣu*. A provision of half a *kāṣu* for 4 *nāl* of honey, quarter *kāṣu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāṣu* for purchasing *śnapana-dravyas*, one *kāṣu* for one *pariśattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāṣu* for the *dakṣiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāṣu* for purchasing 10 *pariśattam* at the rate of quarter *kāṣu* for one *pariśattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaiṣnavas that served in the *Tiruvōlakkam* and those who recited the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāṣu* for one *pariśattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāṣu*.

(L 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttiṅgai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiśya* Mādavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-māṇḍapa, a provision of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy was made together with 6½ *kāṣu* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumaṇḍana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them

(L 28) For Purattāsi Tiruvōnam when Vennaikkūttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mandapa —

1 *kalam* and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 5 *kurum* of rice, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kalam* of paddy for 3 *nāl* of ghee, 3 *kurum* of paddy for pepper, *śākkas* and salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *kattu* of betel leaves thus making a total of 5 *kalam* of paddy

For feeding Śrī-Vaishnavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on *amāvāsya* days when the god presented *tīrtha*. —

(Ll 28-29) 2 *tūm*, 1 *kurum* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for 3 *kurum* and 6 *nāl* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulukkū-kari*, 5 *nāl* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurum* and 1 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *pulitta kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ilai kari* (leaves), 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of salt 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 1 *kurum* and 2 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 7 *kurum* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for each *amāvāsya*<sup>1</sup> For 12 *amāvāsya*s, the provision made was 19 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 4 *nāl* of paddy

(Ll 29-30) For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaishnavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruvengadamalai —

3 *kalam*, 2 *tūm*, 1 *padakku* and 7 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūm*, 1 *padakku* and 6 *nāl* of rice at 1 *nāl* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of green pulse, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *pulukkū-kari*, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *pulitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 3 *ulakku* of pepper, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurum* of salt, 2 *tūm* of paddy for 2 *nāl* of ghee, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of butter milk, 1 *tūm* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *pulingari*, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 22 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kurum* of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 8 *parru* of betel leaves, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāl* of paddy for lime, 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ilai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl*

When the party returned from Tiruvengadamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaishnavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl* of paddy

(Ll 30-32) For feeding Śrī-Vaishnavas that came on the occasion of Purattāsi-Tiruvōnam, a provision of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl*, calculated at the above rate, was made

17 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 6 *nāl* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaishnavas on the 6 days of the Aippaṣi festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaishnavas on the day of the *tīrtham* A quantity of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūm* and 3 *nāl* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaishnavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāymol* hymns on the days of the *ēkādaśī* and *dvādaśī* in the month of Māgaḷi and 17 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 6 *nāl*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaishnavas in the *mandapa* on the occasion of Māsi-Makhā, were also provided

<sup>1</sup>An item of expenditure amounting to 5 *nāl* is omitted

(Ll 32 to 43) 6 *nāl* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *kurum* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day, at 1 *kurum* and 4 *nāl* and 2 *kāṣu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoḷi* hymns, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virasōḷan at 1 *kurum* each per day, 1 *kurum* and of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kurum* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day to 1 Vaikhānasa-dēvakanmī who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kurum* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kurum* of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-mandapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalasas* to the Ālvār, 4 *nāl* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *parisattam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vēdic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāl* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to **Tirumukkūdal-Pērayan** who kept watch in the Jananātha-mandapa and the hospital, 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *tiruchchurruṁālīgar*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rīg-Vēda in the Jananātha-mandapa, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāṣu* to these two at 4 *kāṣu* each, 1 *tūm* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu* per day to one Bhatta who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūm* and 1 *nāl* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmanas who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmanas and *Chhātrās* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra, 10 Mahāpāñcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brāhmanas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāl* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kurum*, and 2 *nāl* of rice per day, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 4 *nāl* of *payaru*, 6 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 3 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta kari* including tamarind, 4 *nāl* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* and 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 1 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of salt, 1 *tūm* of paddy for 1 *nāl* of ghee, 3 *kurum* of paddy for 1 *tūm*, and 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurum* and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāl* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 3 *kurum* of paddy per day and 6 *kāṣu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kurum* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* each, who brought rice from Vayalaikkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kurum* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāl* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* each—who attended on the *Chhātrās* and *kidar* that were fed in the mandapa, 2 *kāṣu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātrās*, *kidar* and the *ātulas* (i.e., the sick), to be on, 9½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 192 *nāl* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāl* of oil per *kāṣu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nāl* of oil to the *Chhātrās* and *kidar* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāl* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāl* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *ulakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-mandapa, were provided

(Ll 43-45) The expenses for the hospital of Virasōḷan are —

1 *tūm*, 5 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *kurum* and 7 *nāl* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāl* each, 3 *kurum* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* per day to Savaṇṇan Kōḍaṇḍarāman Āsvat-thāma-Bhattan of Ālappākkam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *nimandak-kāras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *kurum* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kurum* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kurum* and 1 *kāṣu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kurum* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāl* of paddy and ½ *kāṣu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāl* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided



(L 46) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasōlan for the year are —

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kadumbūri, of exclusive  
of *karungāy* (nut), 2 measures of Vāsā-harītakī, 1 measure of Daśamūla-harītakī, 1 measure of  
Bhallātaka-harītakī, 1 measure of Gandīram, 1 *tūni* of Balākērandā-taila, 1 *tūni* of Pañchāla-  
taila, 1 *tūni* of Laśunādyērandā-taila, 1 *tūni* of Uttamakarnādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of  
, 1 *padakku* of Su sa-ghṛita, 1 *padakku* of Bilvādi-ghṛita, 2000 Mardū-  
karavatakas, 1 *nāl* of Dravattī, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmrādi, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku*  
of Vajrakalpa and 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāna-lavana

An amount of 40 *kāsu* (is provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs,  
purchasing and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under  
the earth annually for Purānasarpī

(L 48) (There had been provided)  $2\frac{1}{4}$  *kāsu* for purchasing 45 *nāl* of oil which was required for  
a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *ālaku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital,  
15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Pangunī-Uttiram to Purattāsi-Tiruvōnam at 1 *kurun* of  
paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it to be stocked in front of Jana-  
nātha-mandapa, 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūni*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia,  
1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni*, 2 *nāl*, 3 *ulakku* and 3 *śevdu* of paddy for the *dakshirā* to be paid to one Brahman  
that performed *punyāha* (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and  
1 *kāsu* and 7 *mā* for (purchasing) 2 *parisattam* (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōnam  
in the month of Purattāsi to Mādavan Dāmāyan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants

(L 51) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*,  
6 *nāl*, 1 *ulakku* and 3 *śevdu* and the amount of 216 $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāsu* and 2 *mā*

If this (amount of) *kāsu* were not available (owing to any default), for every *kāsu* (of default)  
there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the *Dandavāni*

(L 52) Thus in accordance with the *nimanda* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e.,  
the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision  
of the *chhātras* and teachers Paśupati Tiruvarangadēvanār *alias* Rājendra-Mūvēndavēlār of  
Mīnarkudi in Idaiyala-nādu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājendra-vaṇanādu, (which was a  
district) of Chōla-mandalam, the *adhikārī* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this *nādu*,  
having commanded, Iṟavēttin Kumara-Pāśūrakkattān *alias* Virarājendra-Śembiyadaraiyan of  
Ayandampākkam in Āgudi-nādu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōttam, (which was a district) of  
Jayangondaśōla-mandalam, had it engraved On behalf of Dāmāyan Gangaikondaśōlan  
*alias* Sēnāpati Gangaikondaśōla-Danmapāla, the son of Dāmāya who made this charity, the former's  
younger brother Dāma *alias* Sēnāpati Virarājendra-Danmapāla, Taluvakku-  
ḷandān *alias* Abhimānamēru Brahmanmārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māngalūr Namaśśivāya-  
dēva of [-cha]turvēdimangalam in -nādu, (a sub-division)  
of Puḷar-kōttam of Jayangondaśōla-mandalam, had (the order) engraved on stone This charity  
shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*mahāsabhā*) of Śrī-  
Mādurāntaka-chaturvēdi-mangalam Prosperity

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## No 39 —KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134

By STEN KONOW

**Kalawān** is the name of a site near ancient Takshaśilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a **copper-plate**, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharōshthī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932<sup>1</sup>.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 949 and ff.

The **letters** are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *thu*, the last *akshara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvasti*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-svatvāna* instead of *-satvāna*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The **alphabet** is Kharōshthī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akshara* *chha* in *Chhadaśilae*, l. 2, the very distinct *tśa* in *saṃvatśaraye*, l. 1, and the superscript *line* which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōshthī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tasha*, Skr. *trishnā*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Kṛṣṇayaśa*, Skr. *Kṛṣṇayaśas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Kṛṣh'ayaśa*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *sh'ushaehi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*. Professor Rapson has shown<sup>2</sup> that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *shna* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *n* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shnushaehi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of **numerical symbols** we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the **shape of individual letters**, it will be seen that the bottom of *ha* is angular in *graha*, *gaha*, l. 2, *putrehi*, l. 3, *shnushaehi*, l. 4, *hotu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tva*, l. 5, and *tśa*, l. 1. Cf. the *tva* of the silver scroll and the *tśa* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded, cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3, *tra*, ll. 1, 3, *dra*, ll. 2, 4; *dhra*, ll. 2, 4, *pra*, ll. 2, 5, *sra*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *gra*, l. 5, *bhra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

<sup>1</sup> [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8.85 by 2.85 inches and weighs 879 grams.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Kharōshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.

nantic *r* is denoted by a loop in *sarva*, l 5, while the incomplete akshara in *sa[ṛ]va*, l 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop

The *anusvāra* is noted in the usual way in *samvatsaraye*, *Chamdrabhi*, l 1, *Namdvadhamena*, l 3, *Jivanamāna*, l 4, but omitted in *Idrae*, l 4. A redundant *anusvāra* is found in *Dhrammasa*, l 2, while l 4 has *Dhramae*

The **language** is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The **phonetical system** is broadly the same. The vowel *ri* is represented by *ra* in *grahavati*, Skr *grihapati*, ll 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahathubam*, Skr *grihastūpē*, l 2. Intervocalic *k* has disappeared in *uasra*, Skr *upāsikā*, l 1, *śmushaehi*, Skr *snushakābhyām*, l 4, and *pratrae*, Skr *prāptikāya*, l 5, but is represented by *y* in *samvatsaraye*, Skr *samvatsarakē*, l 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *k*, *re*, probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *-nikamo*, Skr *-nigamam*, l 5. Instead of *-ch-* we find *y* in *ayariena*, l 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *cha*, l 4, but *cha*, l 3. If *Santa* represents Skr *Sachitta* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ja* becomes *ya* in *puyae*, Skr *pūjāya*, *puyanta*, Skr *pūjāyivā*, l 5, but remains in the name *Raja*, l 4, which I cannot explain. In *ajasa*, l 1, *-j-* denotes the voiced *s*, *re*, *z*. Intervocalic *t* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d*, cf *grahavati*, Skr *grihapati*, ll 2, 3, *dhitā*, Skr *duhitā*, l 2, *dhituna*, Skr *duhitrā*, l 3, *hotu*, Skr *bhavatu*, l 5, but *bhraduna*, Skr *bhrātūrā*, l 3. In the unaccented prefix *prati* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *prastaveti*, Skr *pratishthāpayati*, l 2, cf *prethavetiye* in the Taxila gold plate, *pretharide* in the Jamālgarhi inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *sarvastivādānām*, l 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*, cf *uasra*, Skr *upāsikā*, l 1, *grahavati*, Skr *grihapati*, ll 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharōṣṭhī records in *thuba*, Skr *stūpa*, l 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *ṇ*. The compound *ry* becomes *ria* in *ayariena*, Skr *āchāryēna*, l 4, and *y* in *bhaya*, Skr *bhāryā*, l 2. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharōṣṭhī records. Similarly we have *nvana* for Skr *nrvāna*, l 5, but *sarva*, ll 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dhrama*, Skr *Dharma*, ll 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *s(n)* to the ensuing *sh* in *śmushaehi*, Skr *snushakābhyām*, l 4.

Of **inflexional forms** I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals fem *dhituna*, Skr *duhitrā*, l 3, and *śmushaehi*, Skr *snushakābhyām*, l 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem instr plur in *ehi*<sup>1</sup> should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) **Chamdrabhi** (Skr *Chandrābhī*), the daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) **Dhramma** (Skr *Dharma*), the wife of **Bhadravala** (Skr *Bhadrāpāla*) puts up relics in the 'house-*stūpa*' (*grihastūpa*) at **Chhadasiḷa**.

The term *gahathuba* (Skr *grihastūpa*) is new, but evidently means a *stūpa* standing in a *griha*, *re*, a roofed building. For we have already seen that our *stūpa* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

*Chhadasiḷa*, on the other hand must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *stūpa* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of Takshaśilā, though the last part of the two names, *śilā*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient Takshaśilā. Chhadasiḷā

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, § 376.

is designated as *rāṭhanikama*, Skr *rāṣṭranigama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital

According to the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>1</sup> Takshaśilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Taksha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *taksh*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* the town was formerly called Bhadrāsīlā, and in one of his *jāti*s the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadrāsīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhman. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *naggārūṣā*, i e, according to the late Professor Andricas,<sup>2</sup> "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takshaśīlā*. A priori it is quite possible that *Takshaśīlā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhadasīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhaḍa*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhatā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhadasīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takshaśīlā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhadasīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takshaśīlā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'o-t'o-she-lo* in v 33 of Sanghavarman's Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī* (A D 516), which Professor Lévi<sup>3</sup> wants to restore as *Chhardasānla*.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhī was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Saita (i e, perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indrā, her grandson Jīvanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharmā's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *nandin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jīvanandin.

The text has, in l 4, *ayariena ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her āchārya'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariena sarvastivāda parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the Sarvastivāda teachers, or *acharyana sarvastivādāna parigrahama* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvastivādāna pratigrahe* on the Kanishka casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvastivā(r)ana parigrahe*, without *ayariena*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *rāṭhanikama*, Sanskrit *rāṣṭranigama*, evidently Chhadasīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāna, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *samvatsaraye 134 aṇasa Śravanasa masasa dvase trevise*—23, in the year 134 on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvāṇa, i e, it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *aṇasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *aṇasa* is identical with the genitive *aṇasa* preceding *āṣāḍasa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *ādyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" Āṣāḍha because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, Āṣāḍha. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

<sup>1</sup> VII, 101, 10 f, cf *Raghuvamśa*, xv, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, 1931, p 13.

<sup>3</sup> J A, XI, v, 1915, p 39.



The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvāna in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshādha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhāntas* had already come into being

Dr van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharōshthī records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *aṣasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aṣa* can be written both *y* and *ṣ*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.<sup>1</sup> We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āṇa* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādā* and *ādaka* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *aṇa*. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āṇa*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śrāvāna or Āshādha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *ṣ* side by side with *y* in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *ṣ* or with a voiced *s*-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *aṣasa* must be the genitive of *aṣa* (*āṣa*) or *aṣa* (*āṣa*). I am unable to find any possible word *aṣa*, *āṣa* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,<sup>2</sup> that *ayasa*, *aṣasa* means "of Azes," the double writing *aya*, *aṣa* being parallel to the doublets *kuyula*, *kuṣula* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Azes. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson<sup>3</sup> took the same view, and added that "Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning."

The late Dr Fleet<sup>4</sup> has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way. "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

<sup>1</sup> cf *Corpus*, pp cv, cvii

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp 973 ff

<sup>3</sup> *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p 582

<sup>4</sup> *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp 997, 995

the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name. “Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be ‘(in) the year 136 of Aya,’ this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him.”

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *aṣa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means “of Azes,” as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharōṣṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.<sup>1</sup> In my reading it begins *ka 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *ka*.

In his review of my edition<sup>2</sup> Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because “we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*.” Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *samvatśaraye 191 sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *samvatśaraye 134 aṣa*.

*Saka* in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *aṣa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been “struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years,” as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takshashilā people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushānas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word “of Azes”, without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty. “in the year so-and-so, Azes style.”

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *aṣa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus*, pp 81 f

<sup>2</sup> *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p 4

the Maccodian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *viruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Mālava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Mālava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Mālava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [sa]ka 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihonka-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *varda*, for Iranian *v* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārtti-kādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively.

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it

Such is the case with the Māira well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, *i e* Moga, with the Mānsehrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrapa Liaka of the Patika plate, with the Shahdaur inscription of the *rājān* Damiyada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrapa Dāmaysada, and perhaps with the Fatehjang, Loriyān Tangai, Jamālgūhī, Hashtnagar, and Skārah Dherī inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,<sup>1</sup> once thought of ca 95 B C, but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century, the late Mr Banerji<sup>2</sup> suggested ca 100 B C, Mr Jayaswal<sup>3</sup> ca 123, and Professor Rapson<sup>4</sup> ca 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takshaśilā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca A D 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, *i e* A D 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophernes. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's<sup>5</sup> criticism of my reading and interpretation of l 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjhuna Kapasa puyae*, in honour of Prince Kapa, *i e* Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between *Kapa* and *sa*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A D 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, *i e*, A D 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-scroll inscription of the year 136, *i e* A D 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A D 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, *i e* about 150 B C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150—78, *i e* about 72 B C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.<sup>6</sup> If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrapa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B C. At that time there was another Mahākshatraps in Mathurā, *viz* Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrapa Sodāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrapa in the Āmohinī tablet of the Vikrama year 72,<sup>7</sup> *i e* A D 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B C.

<sup>1</sup> *J R A S*, 1914, p 986.

<sup>2</sup> *J B O R S*, xvi, p 240.

<sup>3</sup> *J R A S*, 1930, p 189.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant*, xxxvii, 1908, p 67.

<sup>5</sup> *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 570.

<sup>6</sup> As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *mahadanapati Patika saja uvajhae[na] Rohumitrena ya ima[mi] sangharame narakamika*, the great gift lord Patika together with the *upadhyāya* Rohumitra, who is overseer of works in this Samgharāma. There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jāna* as proposed by me, *Corpus*, p. cvm f.

<sup>7</sup> I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, pp 260 ff, that the St Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp 118 ff, has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are 'somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscriptions'.

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Kipin coincided with the Yue-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B.C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B.C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.<sup>1</sup> In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B.C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Mairi well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lia in Mān-schrā, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B.C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B.C.

The Kushānas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yue-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhān, Shuang-mi, the present Chitrāl, Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself, Hī-tun, the present Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul.<sup>2</sup> The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsu-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title 'Kushāna-king'). He further invaded An-si (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)<sup>3</sup> and Kipin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125).<sup>4</sup> Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A.D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annals*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A.D. 125.

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Erünsahr*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han shu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu mi.

<sup>3</sup> The T'ang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 760 and 956. Buk-dat. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butkhāk, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Baber, *transl.* by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "idol dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hindustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butkhāk might be a corruption of an old Bukdāt. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 168.



KATAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharōshthī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujūla Kadphises' attack on An-si and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 46, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.<sup>1</sup> Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, *ie* A. D. 65, we find a *maharaya Gushana*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujūla Kadphises styling himself Kushāna King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujūla Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Loryān Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Dherī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Dherī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

#### TEXT

(L 1) Samvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravanasa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 mēna kshunēna Chamdrabhī uasā (1 2) Dhrammasa grahavatīsa dhīta Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhadaśīlāe śarīra praistaveti gahathu- (1 3) bamī sadha bhraduna Namdivadhanena grahavatīsa sadha putrehi Śamēna Saītena cha dhītuna cha (1 4) Dhramae sadha shnushaehi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jivanamdina Śamaputrena ayariena ya sa[r]ivasti- (1 5) vaana paṇḍrahe raṭhanikamo puyāita sarvas(v)atvana puyae nivanasa pratīae hotu

#### TRANSLATION

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23 day of the month Śrāvana, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Chandrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grīhapati*) Dharma, wife of Bhadrāpāla, establishes relics in Chhadaśīla, in the chapel-stūpa, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jivanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings, may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

<sup>1</sup> That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kushinas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujūla Hermaeus coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hia principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.



## No 40 —KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, SAKA 889

By N LAKSMINARAYAN RAO, M A, OOTACAMUND

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at **Kolagallu**, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest record of the **Rāshtrakūta king Khottiga** so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary **Sanskrit** and in **Nāgarī** characters closely resembling those of the **Dēolī**<sup>3</sup> and the **Karhād**<sup>4</sup> plates of **Kṛishṇa III**. The average size of the letters varies from  $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 1". The **ē** sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *hēmayashtyāsanō* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *rik-sāmar* (l 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *purushō kumārō* (l 31) and *grāmē abhishiktah* (l 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first *pāda* of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *dandāsana* and *lōhāsani* (l 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhāsana* nor *dandāsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five *yōgic āsanas*,<sup>5</sup> viz ,

यज्ञासनं स्वस्तिकाख्यं भद्रं वज्रासनं तथा ।  
वीरासनमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means **Śiva** is here possibly used for **Kārttikēya**. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage **Gadādhara** also. In respect of **orthography**,<sup>6</sup> the following points may be noted. (1) A superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes used before double *n* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *tasmānn-ādhipatyam* in l 20, *vidvānn* in l 38, *kāmny-ēva* in l 42, *anamnyāsritā* in l 50 and *sāmāmnnyō* in l 68), (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *saravanē* (l 23), (3) the letter *v* is used in place of *b* in *Ativala* (l 72) and *vrahmachārībhih* (l 79), (4) the consonant *r* is used for the vowel *ri* as in *rik-sāmar* (l 29) and vice versa as in *anamnyāsritā* (l 50) and *dēvapraya* (l 52), (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *ṣhvāmūlīya* as well as for the *upadhmanīya* as is seen in *mallash-kurutē* (l 63), *prītrsh-kapardinaḥ* (l 77), *chakshush*=*Purushō* (l 31) and *vāpyash*=*Pārvatī* (l 55), (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *samvachhara* is used instead of *samvatsara* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated **Śaka 889 expired, the year Kshaya, Sunday, the Sixth (tithi) of the bright half of Phālguna**, when king **Kṛishṇa** had died and **Khottigadēva** was ruling. This **Khottiga** is no other than the homonymous **Rāshtrakūta king of Mālkhed**, the half brother and successor of **Kṛishṇa III**.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of **Kārttikēya** and other gods at the village of **Kolagala** by the *Brahmachārin* **Gadādhara**. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

<sup>1</sup> No 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>2</sup> Part II, para 36.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol V, pp 168 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Śabdakalpadrūpa* under *āsana*.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *āsana* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *lōhāsani* belonging to the Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and as a crest-jewel of the Gauda country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Tadā and that he was the illuminator of the Varēndrī country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Vishnu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prasaśti*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārins* to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khotiga is Śaka 890, Vibhava, Jyēsthā sūddha I, Thursday<sup>1</sup> (A D 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khotiga was the successor of Krishna III, it helps us to ascertain Krishna's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Krishna's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karkhād grant<sup>2</sup> of A D 959 describes at length the conquests of Krishna III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king, but the Dēōlī plates<sup>3</sup> whose date is approximately 30th April A D 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Krishna came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēōlī plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-samkrānti, Vyatīpāta, Monday<sup>4</sup> (A D 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription<sup>5</sup> of his father Baddega Amōghavarsha III is also dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-samkrānti. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates *viz*, (1) that Amōghavarsha III and his son Krishna III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Krishna III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēōlī and the Karkhād plates. And Krishna's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājadhvirāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Krishna III. Hence the first alternative *viz*, that Krishna and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn<sup>6</sup> long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana-sankramana is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana-sankramana of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, *viz*, the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd 50. An inscription of this king found at Hunavalli (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 531) is dated Śaka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, sūddha punname, Ādityavāra, Sankrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp 281 ff

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp 188 ff and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p 420.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 476

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd 77

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV p 293, see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 113 of 1913, 118 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 478 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt II, pp 35 ff

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A D 939 In all probability, therefore, Krishna succeeded his father after this date Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A D 939

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishna Our inscription tells us that Khottiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A D 967, after Krishna's death Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date And the latest date that we now have for Krishna is 6th March A D 965<sup>1</sup> Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years<sup>2</sup> Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A D 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A D 966, when his 28th year began The wording of the present record, *viz*, परलोक गते तस्मिन्नाम्ना क्षणान्तरे निधौ राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य (ll 4-5) would indicate that Krishna's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (*i.e.*, A D 967 February 17) This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khottiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishna's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago<sup>3</sup> The passage in it which introduces the king runs as पालयति सति प्राप्ते खोद्विगे राज्ञि मेदिनी We may, therefore, conclude that Krishna III ruled from A D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishna's reign was the 28th year<sup>4</sup>

Gadādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge In another inscription of Kolagallu of A D 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgallu<sup>5</sup> We learn from an inscription at Kudatini<sup>6</sup> that this person set up in that village an image of Skanda It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god We do not know when this celebrity came from Varēndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities It is possible, however, that Krishna III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> took place in A D 963-64

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varēndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājashāhi"<sup>8</sup> As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name<sup>9</sup> but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

<sup>1</sup> Bombay-Karnatak Collection No 113 of 1929-30

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921

<sup>3</sup> Same collection No 44 of 1904

<sup>4</sup> The date of the Kilūr record which has been wrongly read as the [3]0th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No 232 of 1902) was after re examination found to be the 20th year

<sup>5</sup> Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt II, para 36, No 234 of 1913

<sup>6</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection No 44 of 1904

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol XIX, p 289

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol I, page 305 f n 2

<sup>9</sup> See *Ind Ant*, Vol LX, pp 16-17

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā Tadā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagallu where the inscription was discovered

TEXT <sup>1</sup>

[Metres vv 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anushtubh*, 15 and 22, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*.]

## First Face.

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री [॥\*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्स(त्स)<sup>2</sup>[रा]-
- 2 छ(ष्ट)शताशीतिनवाधिकक्षयसंवत्स(त्स)रे फाल्गु-
- 3 णशुद्धषष्ठ्यार्कदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्नाम्ना कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [॥\*]
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ यु-
- 6 गे ॥[१\*] त्रैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश्]स्त्रिने [॥\*] स्वामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोन्नमः(नमः) ॥[२\*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्रुद्रात्मजं शुभं [॥\*] सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३\*] सुरसेनाधिपम्ने-
- 11 छस्त(स्या)स्य सत्त्वं महात्मनः [॥\*] शुश्रूक्षन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४\*] हेमय-
- 13 ष्ठ्या(ष्ठ्या)सनोय<sup>3</sup> त्रिगुणाः<sup>4</sup> शौर्यं कपर्दिनः ।
- 14 [हि]जश्रेष्ठगदापाणिः शाश्वतं धर्मकी-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥[५\*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
- 16 र्विशोभितं [॥\*] तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यंतमिन्द्राद्यै-
- 17 र्वदितं सुरैः ॥[६\*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूर्णैन्दुरिव निर्मलं [॥\*] पापघ्नं वेधसा स-
- 19 ष्ठं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥[७\*] स्थित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां [॥\*]
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोयं देवेश-
- 22 रांगभूः ॥[८\*] हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भे षण्मु-
- 23 खो द्वादशेक्ष्णः [॥\*] जातस्स(श्च)रवणे वा

<sup>1</sup> From inked stampages

<sup>2</sup> The letter छ is engraved below the line.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly this has to be corrected into हेमयष्टासनस्य.

<sup>4</sup> Read त्रिगुणान्

- 24 लो विश्वात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥[८\*] रुद्रव्र(ब्र)-  
 25 ह्याद्यवध्यो यस्तारकश्चासुराधिपः [1\*]  
 26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन द्वादशार्के[क्ष]-  
 27 णेन सः ॥[१०\*] भुवि द्यौरेक(द्यव्येक) एवायं [देव ?]-  
 28 स्तेजोमयः कृती । द्विजास्यम्यक्तं[त्ये]-

*Second Face.*

- 29 वं रि(ऋ)क्तामैर्वेदपार-  
 30 गाः ॥[११\*] विश्वतश्चक्षु-  
 31 ष्पुरुषो कुमारो<sup>1</sup> वि-  
 32 श्वतोमुखः<sup>2</sup> [1\*] श्रीम-  
 33 ल्कोलगलग्रामे अ-  
 34 भिषिक्तः शुभे दि[ने] ॥[१२\*]  
 35 लोहासनी च शाण्डि-  
 36 ल्यस्मृतपस्त्री गदाध-  
 37 रः [1\*] विहज्जनाश्रयो  
 38 विद्वां(द्वा)ग्गौडचूडाम-  
 39 णिर्मणी ॥[१३\*] स्वर्गवास-  
 40 निमित्तार्थं तडाग्रा[मो]-  
 41 त्त(ङ्ग)वेन तु [1\*] स्थापितो  
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्दु-  
 43 द्योतकारिणा ॥[१४\*] ल-  
 44 क्ष्मीर्यस्य परेभ्य एव भ-  
 45 वने कं(क)न्येव दातुं स्थि-  
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-  
 47 जन्तुहितकृद्दीपप्र-  
 48 भेवामला [1\*] भक्तिर्यस्य  
 49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्व-  
 50 स्मादनं(न)न्याश्रु(श्रि)ता त-  
 51 स्मै स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]

<sup>1</sup> Read पुरुष कुमारो<sup>2</sup> This reminds one of the Vedic hymn विश्वतश्चक्षुः विश्वतो मुखो विश्वतो वाङ्मृत विश्वतस्पात् । रुद्राहुर्भ्यो धमति सपतयेद्यां वा भूमौ जनयन् दद्व एक ॥

KOLAGAILU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA SAKA 889

FIRST FACE.

1 पदिष्टी लीकळ पकोलातीतयैरक  
 2 पुनामवातिकवादिग दुपसं वलदाहु  
 3 भाशुदकशुभीतिसेपुतिमोनापु  
 4 मनीकवातसतितालाकोतमकेके  
 5 मगावगदिवादेकसावनेमपुडकनाप  
 6 मनेनीगुगुपुकापापीगगाताम  
 7 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 8 मनीकमुनेगोमिगोमिपनेददोपदायक  
 9 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 10 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 11 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 12 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 13 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 14 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
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 24 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 25 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 26 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 27 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 28 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक

SECOND FACE

1 मिशुमेयेदमाक  
 2 भाःदिष्टीनक्षत्र  
 3 पुपद्योदमनादि  
 4 मुनेमुसःदीन  
 5 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 6 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 7 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 8 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 9 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 10 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 11 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 12 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 13 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
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 25 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 26 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 27 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक  
 28 मनीकमालागोमनेददोपदायक

# THIRD FACE

54  
 56  
 58  
 60  
 62  
 64  
 66  
 68  
 70  
 72  
 74

# FOURTH FACE

76  
 78  
 80

52 [व]सुधादेवपु(प्रि)याया-

53 [नि]शं ॥[१५\*]

*Third Face.*

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तथैवाकीं वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 श्वरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यप्यार्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६\*] [सु]पृष्ठे स्थापिता[:\*] कीर्त्ति-

57 विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [I\*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता ग्रामेत्त धीमता ॥[१७\*] सुरे-

59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्त्तिं गायत्यक्षरसंस्त-

60 दा [I\*] जयत्यसौ कपर्दी च मृगांकव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८\*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[:\*] स्था-

62 ने विद्वद्भिर्प्रोपकारकं [I\*] दुर्भिक्षमल-

63 ष्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९\*] स्वा-

64 मिभट्टारकस्यायं वरग्रामश्चिर-

65 न्तन [I\*] अ[तो] न दत्ता वसुधा पृथ-

66 कृत्वा विशेषतः ॥[२०\*] गृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [I\*] विप्रे-

68 भ्यस्सा न हर्तव्या सामां(मा)न्यो धर्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१\*] श्रीकर्मरकुलाद्वयविज-

70 वरग्रामस्तु(ग्रामात्तु) तर्कारितो निष्क्रम्य क्र-

71 मनिर्मलसमभवत्संस्मिन्पि[र्व]-

72 डितस्तत्पुत्रप्रथितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 लस्तस्मादभूदय(य)स्तुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुस्तदनाख्यकविना शस्ता प्रश-

75 स्तिः कृता ॥[२२\*]

*Fourth Face.*

76 गदाधरेण सहितं

77 यथा प्रीतिष्कपदि-

78 नः [I\*] तथान्यैरपि क-

79 र्तव्या भविष्यत्र(त्र)द्व-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३\*]



## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*month*) of Phālguna in the (*cyclic*) year Kshava, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed

(Verse 1) During the reign of Khottagadēva—the king named Krishna of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was erected*) in the Kali age

(V 2) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious

(V 3) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe

(V. 4) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins

(V 5) (*Let people hear*) the three *gūnas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *yaśhtyāsana* made of gold, *viz* , Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act (*of the best of Brāhmins Gadādhara*) which is eternal <sup>1</sup>

(Vv 6 and 7) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable

(V 8) Seated in that *dandāsana* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*) Such is the issue of the lord of gods (*i e* , Śiva)

(V 9) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śararāna* grass

(V 10) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve suns as his eyes

(V 11) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Riks and Sāmans

(V 12) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (*i e* , who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Purusha* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day

(V 13) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauda country, who is a *lōhāsani* (*ascetic*), who is a Śāndilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men

(V 14) By him who was born in the village of Tadā and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varēndrī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven

(V. 15) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmins, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a *slēsha* here upon the words Kapardin, *dvija śrēṣhṭha* and *gada pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Karttikēya and of the ascetic Gadādhara

(Vv 16 and 17) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Vishnu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells *were constructed*. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V 18) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V 19) This Durbhikshamalla (*i e*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brahmans, like Bali, the son of Virōchana.

(V 20) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmin. It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given.

(V 21) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brahmans should not be snatched away (*this is*) the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V 22) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (*was born*) the scholar Rishi, his son was Atibala renowned in the world, by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i e*, Atibala) was this excellent *prastā* composed.

(V 23) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara<sup>1</sup> towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachārins*.

## No 41 —THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS

By A. RANGASWAMI SĀRASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

### A

#### CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920<sup>2</sup>. It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *linga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūdi plates of Kātaya-Vēma<sup>3</sup> and the Phirangipuram inscription of Kōmatī-Vēma<sup>4</sup> though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

<sup>1</sup> The word सहित seems to be superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> No 5 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.

in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvati inscription<sup>1</sup>

The inscription records the grant of the village **Rāmatīrtham** situated in the **Śrīśaṭṭa-bhūmi** and the **Ammanambrōlu-sīma** as a *sarv-āgrahāra* to **Chittamūri Timmaṇa-Bhatta** who was the son of Kāmēśvara-Bhattāraka and who belonged to the Kaundinya-gōtra, Yajus sākha and Āpastamba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages **Chimakurti**, **Bhīmēsvaram**, **Pulikonda**, **Mailavaram** and **Kumārāpurī** and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*suvarṇ-ādāya*) (of these villages) and the water of the Pedda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division<sup>2</sup>) and land at the rate of 200 *kunta* measured by a pole of 16 *bāru* in big villages and 100 *kunta* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Karnam of the village Chimakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālvāhana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika śu 12, Thursday, Manvādī. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates<sup>3</sup> of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātu is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A D 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reddī chiefs. For instance, *Chamchumala-chūrakāra*, or *Chemṇimala-chūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chemṇi or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūridurgavibhāla* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūru" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kalin-garāya māna-mardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kalinga."<sup>4</sup> The title *Manniyarāya-mṛiga-īntakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Manniya hilly country." The term *Manne* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voḍḍiyarāya-mṛdhūma-dhāma* and *Janturnāṭarāya-halla-kallōla* signify victories over the kings of the Voḍḍiya (Odhra) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturnāḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gangas of Kalinga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pān-dyarāya-gaṇa-simha* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāndya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāndyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśāpatta* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Truvēndipuram inscription of the Chōla king Rājarāja III dated in his 15th year<sup>4</sup> records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jaganobbaganda* Appana-Dandanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Dannāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjīnga who overcame the Chōla sovereign Rājarāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to

<sup>1</sup> S I I Vol VI, No 243.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol VIII, pp 9 ff

<sup>3</sup> Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, page 22

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol VII, pp 160 ff

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dāsāpatta* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatiyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuṅga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Ganlagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchīpuram and Tondaimandalam. Against these Sundara-Pāndya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasimhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatiya sovereign Ganapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Ganapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *brudās* over the Pāndya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kalugarāya, Oddiyarāya, the Janturnātarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūra should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatiyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmakundī (the Gundlakammā), the Krishnavēni, i.e., Krishnā, the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadi, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*sattras*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*ēka-rāga-sthāpān-āchārya*) and the only ornament to the throne (*ēka-simhāsana-ālamkāra*).

## B

## PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA

Next in chronological order comes the **Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru** grant of **Anna-Vēma**. It is registered as copper-plate No 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devī Hanumacharlu of Koṭitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure  $9\frac{3}{4}$ " in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas*. The inscription is written in **Telugu** script and **Sanskrit** language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates nb, mb, ivb, and vb are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the **palaeography** of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially. The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is **Anna-Vēma** who is here called the son of **Prōlaya-Vēma**, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishnu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishnu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

*padbhyaṃ Sūriḥ-bhīṣṭāyāḥ* In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri (v 4) He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv 5 to 8) To him were born two valorous sons namely **Anna-Vōta** and Anna-Vēma (v 9) Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (i.e., Śrīśaila) to the eastern ocean (vv 10 and 11) The Telugu work *Viṣṇu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called **Rāvutu Kēsa** near the river **Kṛṣṇavēni** before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalaganti family and got them dedicated to him Sūrana, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv 12 to 15) The genealogy of the donee is then given In the *gōṭi* of Hārīta there was a pious Brāhman named **Nṛsiṃha** who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the disputants (v 16) His son was **Bhīmēśvara-Sōmayājūn** who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v 17) His son was **Pōtibhatta**, to him was born Gundavāryya whose son was **Peddi-Vidvān**, the crest jewel among astronomers (v 18) To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchani-Tāmdiparru (v 19) Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll 47 to 73) After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bāla Sarasvatī, the court poet of Anna Vēma The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Tinētra**

The details of the **date** recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *rasa* (6), *ratna* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse According to Swamikannu Pillar's *Indran Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Reddi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants<sup>1</sup> of Pedda-Kōmati-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvavāmulu in Śaka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Śaka 1333 In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmā and Sūrya One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautisha śāstra

Nothing is known from other sources about Bālasarasvatī who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śīśailam<sup>2</sup> Another poet in this king's court, viz., Triṣṇānāchārya is already known to us He composed the Vānapalli<sup>3</sup> copper-plate inscription of this king

## C

## PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas* In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through It bears writing only on one side Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr

<sup>1</sup> *A.R. on South Indian Epigraphy* 1919-20, Nos. 13 and 14

<sup>2</sup> See *A.R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 59

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff

Ponukapāti Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapādu near Tenālī and has been registered as No 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in **Telugu** characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapādu and five verses in **Sanskrit**. The first verse says "The donor is king **Kōmatī-Vēma**, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor **Śankara**, the village granted is **Pinapādu**, the composer is the poet **Śrīnātha-Bhattāraka**, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great **Śrīgiri**. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "**Śrī-Vīranārāyanasya**"

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmatī-Vēma, the donee Śankara and the poet Śrīnātha were at Śrīśaila on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Śāntayya, a disciple of **Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti**, Śrīnātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Śānta Bhikshāvṛtti. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-mandapa* of the temple Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti, the head of the Virāśaiva *matha* on the hill asked him to write a Śaiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Śānta Bhikshāvṛtti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikshāvṛtti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpākṣa, was one of the gurus of the Virāśaiva *matha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz, Śankara, are found even today in the village Pinapādu. Though they are Brāhmins they officiate as *Āchāryas* to several Śaivas who are not Brāhmins.

## A

## TEXT

- 1 Śrī Tripurāntakēśvara [I\*]
- 2 Svasti Śrī [I\*] Vijay-ābhyudaya-Śāhivāhana-śaka-varshambulu 1257 agun-  
ēti Yuva-
- 3 nāma samvatsara Kārttika-suddha 12 Guru-vāsara manvādī mahāpunya-  
kālamunam-
- 4 du Yaju[?]-śākh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kaundinya-gōtr-ōdbhavalumnu ( l u n n u )  
śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādī-shatkarma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhattarakuni-vārī putri(tru)lunnu(lunnu)  
Kondu-bhattārakuni-
- 6 vārī-putri(ru)lunn-agu Chittamūrī Timmmana(Timmana)-bhattu-śastrulāvārīki svasti [I\*]  
sakala-guna-gan-ālam-
- 7 kāra Chamchumala-chūrakāra Viśva viśvambhar-ābharana-vahana-dakṣha-dakshana  
(kshina)-bhujā-damdda
- 8 Jaganobba-gamda āniya(anya) mamdalikara-gamda rāya-chēkōlu-gamda rāva-  
mīsara-gamda
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmādri dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura harana-bharana rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyana Vīra-Nārāyaṇa bhuja-bala-Bhīma kōdamda-Rāma aparimīta-bhū-dāna-  
Paraśu-
- 11 rāma anēka-nagar-ōpākamtha-pratiśthāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma sanggaḍi-rakṣa-pā-  
laka jaga ra-

- 12 ksha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhatta-vibhāla ghana-bhuja-virāja-  
māna Karavāla
- 13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāla jala-durga-jaladhī-badabānala sthala-durga-havana-  
Halāyu-
- 14 dha anavarata-purōhita-kṛta-sōma-pāna Śrīparvata-Ahōbala-nirmita-sōpāna  
dhīh(dīk)[kām]-
- 15 ttā-manōhara kīrti-kusum-āmōda Kumdiprabhā-Samhya(Sahya)jā-Gautamī-
- 16 jala kriḍā-vinōda Kalimga-rāya māna-mada-marddana mamniya-rāya-mṛga-
- 17 vēmtakāra Voddīya-rāya-nīrdhūma-dhāma Jamtur-nāta-rāya-halla-kallōla a-
- 18 ri-rāya-basava-Śamkkara virōdhī-nṛpa-dānava-Narasimhva(ha) Pāmdya-rāya-gaja-sim-
- 19 hva(ha) prajñā-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kēlādi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satya Pallv-ādi-
- 20 tyā ripu-narapati-gōdhūma-ghaṭtana-gharatta Appaya-Gōpaya-diśā-pattana(patta)  
samgrā-
- 21 ma-samuddamḍa-chamḍa-bhuj-āsi-vikhamḍita-kṛta-kīlāla plavamāna Bramhma(ahma)  
kum-
- 22 dī-Kṛṣṇavēni-Gōdāvari-Mahānadi-tatī-dvayan(ya)-madhya-dēsa-anēk-āgrahā-
- 23 ra aganyā-punya-kshētra-satra-bahu-vidh-āhāra Pūrva-samudrādhīvara
- 24 ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya ēka-simhvā(hā)san-ālamkāra śrīma[t\*]-Tripurāntakadē-
- 25 va-divya-śrī-pāda-padm-āradhakul-ama śrīmatu-Vēmaya-Redḍigāru viāyimchi yī-
- 26 chechina bhū-dāna-dharma-śāsanam || mad-bhujā-damdda-paripālanam-ama  
sāmbrā(mrā)jya-
- 27 m-amdu Śrīśaila-bhūmī Ammma(Amma)nambrōli śī(sī)malō Rāmatīrtham sarv-  
āgrahāramum-
- 28 nnu(munnu) Chīmakurti-Bhīmēśvara-Pulikoḍḍa-Mailavaram-Komārapuri-grāma-
- 29 mulu ayidimttiyamdunnu veli-polam-lōnunnu charvula krimda mā-  
mgā-
- 30 ni-lōnunnu āku-tōmtalu-cheruku-tōmtala-lōnu bhūmi chathurth-āmsām
- 31 sarva-mānyam-gānumnnu(nnu) miḡilina muppātika bhūmī pamḍina nānā-  
phalā-
- 32 dulakumnnu(nnu) shōḍaś-āmsām mērānu suvarn-ādāyānaku pamcham-  
āmsāmunnū
- 33 pedda-chervu nillanu yī grāmālu gāka yitara grāmāla pamddina  
dhānyānaku daśam-ām-
- 34 śamunnu śī(sī)mā-mūlam prati-grāmamulamdunnu(nnu) padahāru-bārāla  
ghaḍanu
- 35 pedda vūr[ī\*]ki innūru kumtalumnnu(nnu) chinna vūriki nūru  
gumttala kshētram-
- 36 nnu sarva-mānyamulunnū(nnu) yī-lāgu nūrnayam chēśi Rāmatīrtham  
modal-ana ā-
- 37 ru grām-ādulayamdunnu ashta-bhōga-svāmya-svatamtramulunnu chaturvi-
- 38 dha-yōgyam-gā sa-hirany-ōdaka-dāna-dhārā-purvam-gā yippimstim ganuka . . .
- 39 . . . tra-pāramparyyamunnu amddula vachchina phalam ā-cha . . . . .
- 40 . . . . . ḍuvāru || dāna-pālanayōr-madhyē dānāch-chhrē . . . . .

41	.	achyutam	padam    ēk a[va]	.	.	.
42	.	.	vipra-dattā	.	.	.

## B

## TEXT

*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 श्रीनाथ(य)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो व पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं स्यूतोन्नीत-
- 2 महीतलोपरितटीनिर्यातशृंगांकुरा । यामात्मीयजलो-
- 3 दितां शशिक्रामाशंक्य जातः [क्ष]णं सौहार्देन विजृम्भमाणसलि-
- 4 लारंभो महाम्भोनिधिः ॥<sup>1</sup>[1\*॥] तमो हरेता तव पुष्पवंतौ राक्ता-
- 5 सु पूर्वापरशैलबा(भा)जौ । रथांगलीलामिवदर्शयंतौ पुरा पुरारैः<sup>2</sup>
- 6 पृथिवी(ध्वी)रथस्य ॥<sup>3</sup>[2\*॥] पादारविदादरविंदनाभेर्गमेव पुण्या व-
- 7 नजीवनश्री । जाताभिजाता शतथा(धा) विभिन्ना जातिश्चतुर्थी जम्भतां
- 8 हिताय ॥<sup>4</sup>[3\*॥] तस्यामभूद्योलयवेमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
- 9 नशाली ॥ (1) हेमाद्रिकव्योदितदानदत्तो निस्सीमभूदाननिरुद्धकीर्तिः<sup>5</sup> । वेम-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 10 क्षितीशो वृषममेकपादं खड्गप्रचारं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ता-
- 11 ग्रहारहजिवेदशक्त्या पदक्रमैरखलित चकार<sup>6</sup> ॥[4\*॥] धर्मात्मजो दा-
- 12 शरधि(धि): पृथुश्चेत्युदीर्यमाणानि युगांतरेषु । वितर्कये वेम-
- 13 नरेखरस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि<sup>7</sup> ॥[5\*॥] यत्कीर्तिलोलमनसा-
- 14 सुरगांगनानामालोकितुं च सुखरागमनगमूलं<sup>8</sup> ।
- 15 श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां युगपन्नदत्तो नागाधिपौ न सहते नयन-
- 16 श्रुतिर्व<sup>9</sup> ॥<sup>1</sup>[6\*॥] संध्यामपार्थस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्यारिचूडामणयो
- 17 विचेलुः । आक्रामतस्त्रयति राजवंशान् प्रतापवज्रैरिव विस्फुलिं-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 18 गाः ॥<sup>10</sup>[7\*॥]तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाद्देर्जतौ प्रतापवरकांतिनिधौ कु
- 19 मारौ । सूर्ये<sup>10</sup> दुतुल्यमहसावनवोतभूप[\*] श्रीयन्नवेम-

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Sardulavikṛīṭam*.<sup>2</sup> The *visarga* is written in the next line<sup>3</sup> Metre *Upēndravagrā*.<sup>4</sup> Metre *Indravagrā*.<sup>5</sup> Metre *Indravagrā*<sup>6</sup> Metre *Indravagrā*<sup>7</sup> Metre *Upānāṭ*<sup>8</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line<sup>9</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*<sup>10</sup> Metre *Upēndravagrā*.



- 20 नृपतिर्जगरत्तपाल. ॥<sup>1</sup>[8\*॥] वीरश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतिर्गावी(भी)रभेरी-  
 21 रवै । शत्रूणां हृदयेषु सगरमुखे भिन्नेषु पूर्व र-  
 22 सं । यद्दीर निरकासयद्भयरसो वेगात्कुतोप्या-  
 23 गतो [1\*] युक्तंप्राक्तनमवु निर्गमयति प्रत्यग्रमत्यूर्जित<sup>3</sup>  
 24 ॥<sup>3</sup>[9\*॥] शशास यः श्रीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वरत्नाकरमंध्रदे-  
 25 श । आमेखलं मेखलभूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूपः ॥<sup>4</sup>[10\*॥]

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 26 तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताच्च[.\*]श्रीयन्नवेम. क्षितिपालरत्नं ।  
 27 शूराग्रगण्यं क्षुरिकासहायो विवा(भा)ति वीराहवकेलिलोलः ॥<sup>5</sup>[11\*॥] श्रीय-  
 28 न्नवेमनृपते.(ति.) क्षुगि(रि)कासहायो वीरारिवक्षसि विलेखनकेलिदक्षः । सो-  
 29 य करस्सुभगतूलिकाया विचित्रं कांताकपोलमकरीकरणे स-  
 30 कप. ॥<sup>6</sup>[12\*॥] श्रीयन्नवेमनृपतेर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्तिर्धनां युधि  
 31 बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (i) आरोपयत्युपगमाच्चरणं तदीयं कीटी-  
 32 रचामरसितातपवारणानि ॥<sup>7</sup>[13\*॥] सोयं ब्रा(भा)तुरनन्तर निजमाही-  
 33 वा(भा)रं वहन् पैलक राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयंवरपति[.\*] श्रीयन्नवे-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 34 मप्रभुः [1\*] ग्रामान् पूर्वन्टपालकैश्च गुरुणा ब्रा(भा)वा च विप्रार्पितान्  
 35 सर्वानप्यनुपालयन्नपि दिशन् जागर्त्ति लोकोत्तरः ॥<sup>8</sup>[14\*॥] अथ प्रतिगृहो-  
 36 त्ववशावळी ॥ आसीदंबुजसंभवान्वयभुवा गण्यो वरेण्यस्स-  
 37 तां विख्यातो हरिताह्वयो मुनिवरः कर्त्ता स्मृतेर्व्वेदवित् । त-  
 38 न्नोत्रे परवादिकुजरघटासिंहो नृसिंहोभवद्यस्यो-  
 39 दाहरणं चरित्रमनघं वेदोक्तसत्कर्मणा ॥<sup>9</sup>[15\*॥] तस्यात्मजो या-  
 40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदीयहोमानल-  
 41 धूमरेखा दिगंगनापल्लवकर्ण(ण्)पूरा. ॥<sup>10</sup>[16\*॥] पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-  
 42 भट्टो गुणी ततो जायत गुडयार्थः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेद्दिविद्वा[न्]

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvara* is written in the next line

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Sardūlavikrīḍitam*

<sup>4</sup> Metre *Upajāti*

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Upajāti*

<sup>6</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*

<sup>7</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Sardūlavikrīḍitam*

<sup>9</sup> Metre *Sardūlavikrīḍitam*

<sup>10</sup> Metre *Upendravajrā*

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS  
B PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA

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*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 43 देवन्नचूडामणिरेष बा(भा)ति ॥<sup>1</sup>[17]\*] शाकाब्दे रसरत्नवा(भा)स्करमिते मासे [नम]-  
 44 स्वे तिथौ राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुष्ये शशांकग्रहे । प्राद-  
 45 त्यात्रतमाय पेहिविदुषे श्रीयन्नवेमाधिपो ग्रामं पञ्चनितांदि  
 46 पण्डितमसमाष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं ॥<sup>2</sup>[18]\*] अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥  
 47 ऊरि ईशान्यं वड्डंगिकुटनुडि प्रदक्षिणमुगानु अमृतलू-  
 48 रि पोलमुसंधुन नाग्नेयदक्षिणं सागि बलुसुंहुल मी-  
 49 दं बडुमठिचि दक्षिणमै नलंगुट मोचि चालुपुटल मी-  
 50 द नाग्नेयदक्षिणमै तुळुमिंदि पोलमु मोचि पडुमठिचि  
 51 पेहपुटनुडि दक्षिणमै अमृतलूरि डोक्क दांति जम्पिपुट

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 52 मींद नैरु(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै जम्पिपुट मींद दक्षिणमै कोच्चपुट मींद बडु-  
 53 मठै जम्पिपुट मोचि दक्षिणमै उप्पिपुटल मींद मूलवंपुपुट मोचि  
 54 पडुमठै बीरवक उप्पिपुटल मींद नैरु(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै दक्षिणमिंदि पडुमठै सागि  
 55 चौकु मोचि पुटल मींद बडुमठै दक्षिणमिंदि तुळुमिंदिस्त्रोपठिति  
 56 पोलमुसंधु चौडु मोचि आसंदि चालुपुटल मींद नैरु(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै श्रीगु  
 57 ट इट्टिकावसु दक्षिणानंगानु पडुमठै तौकपोलसु तूर्पुम-  
 58 हु उत्तरं मुट्टिन मडुक जम्पिपुट मोचि दक्षिणमै मारकुंठ तूर्पु<sup>3</sup>  
 59 गट्ट मोचि पडुमठै कंदेपिपोलसु मोचि आसंदितुत्तरमै अमुठैनलंगु-  
 60 लु[गु]कु मींद वायव्योत्तरमै कंदेपितेरुपुटल मींद उत्तरपु जं-  
 61 मिनंदि ठाति मींद नवुठैपल्लेसु पडुमटंगानु कंमंपुट मी-  
 62 दं बडुमठिचि उत्तरमै पालकोटि मींद स्त्रोतुक्कुरि आलपाटि सं

*Fifth Plate, First Side.*

- 63 हु पेह[नंदिकंभं मोचि आल]पाटि संध्यु(धु)नंदूर्पे पुट अमुठैगुंठ [मींद]  
 64 दक्षिण[मिंदि तूर्पे अमुठै]गुंठल मींद गोच्चपुटल मोचि उत(त्त)रमिंदि  
 65 तूर्पे जम्पिपुटल मींद नवुठैहिपुट मीचि उत्तरमै मूलपुटनुडि तूर्पे जम्पि  
 66 मींद मूलपुटनुडि जटलम्पपाटि तूर्पुक्के उत्तरं सागि जम्पि मींद मू-

<sup>1</sup> Metre - *Upēndravajrā*<sup>2</sup> The anusvāra is written in the next line:<sup>3</sup> Metre - *Sārdhakarīṣṭam*

- 67 लपुट मोचि जंमुल मीदंगा दूर्पे दक्षिणमिचि तूर्पसागि नल्लज-  
 68 ट तिप्प पेदुपुटवोदि जम्मि मोचि उत्तरमै गारपुटल मीदंगा वुलुवुडु-  
 69 वुड मोचि तूर्पे अबुगुगंटल मीदंगा वेदपूडि आलपाटि संदु  
 70 चवुटगुट पडुमट नेडगलगोनपुट मोचि जम्मि मीद दक्षिण सागि जम्मि-  
 71 पुट मोचि तूर्पे [पे]दपूडि आलपाटि संदु चौडु मोचि दक्षिणमिचि गोळ-  
 72 कुट तूर्पुननुडि चालुपुटल मीदं दूर्पु सागि वडगिगुट मो-  
 73 चेनु ॥ एतेषा मध्यवर्त्तिचेत्त ॥ स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-

## Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 74 लनं परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवित् <sup>1</sup>[1\*19॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता<sup>2</sup>  
 75 वा यो हरेत वसुध(ध)रां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठाया<sup>2</sup>  
 76 जायते क्रिमिः<sup>1</sup> ॥[20॥\*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामपि भूभुजा<sup>2</sup>  
 77 न वो(भो)ग्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुध(ध)रा <sup>1</sup>[1\*21॥] अन्नवेमनरे-<sup>2</sup>  
 78 द्रस्य विद्वान् बालसरस्वती । अकरोदाकरो वाचा त्रिर्भ[ल]<sup>2</sup>  
 79 धर्मशासन<sup>2</sup> ॥[22॥\*] मंगळमहाश्री[ः\*] श्री श्री  
 80 श्रीपल्लवतिशेत्त ॥[॥\*]

C

## TEXT

- 1 इं दांकां बोयि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमै ऊडुगुलकर वट्टि वच्चि रेळंबडिय  
 2 दापुन मूडूळु सुत्तलनुडि देशमुडौक्कु वच्चि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वंदु-  
 3 उदापुन मगुडि उत्तरानकु बोयि देशमुकुड तूर्पुन मगुडि तूर्पु-  
 4 मुखमै कुनि पचारुलपल्लपु नेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तम्मडि-  
 5 कूट्ट दक्षि-  
 6 णान वोरसि उत्तराभिमुखमै पोयि कुनि तूर्पुमुखमै नडचि गरुवु येक्कि तूर्पु  
 7 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमै कुनि तूर्पुमुखमै ईदुपडुव नडुसुवट्टि नडचि ग-  
 8 रुवुन मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमै वच्चि यथास्थानानं गूडेनु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-  
 9 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्थानं चेत्यनपाडुरत्त तु कविः श्रीनाथ-  
 10 भट्टारकः ।  
 11 कालश्चेच्छिवरात्रिपुण्यसमयः साक्षी महान् श्रीगिरिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्ण्यते सुक-  
 12 विभिः सुखंतु तच्छासन ॥<sup>3</sup>[1॥\*] सर्वमान्यकृतधर्मशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपार्थि-  
 13 वः । अश्रीहजारपरिरक्षणादृते नास्ति नास्ति हि यशो महीभृतां ॥<sup>4</sup>[2॥\*] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

<sup>1</sup> Metre Anushtubh<sup>2</sup> Metre: Śārdūlakṛīḍitam.<sup>3</sup> The anusvara is written in the next line.<sup>4</sup> Metre . Rathodhatā.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS  
B PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA

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- 12 पुण्य परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥<sup>1</sup>[3॥\*] एवैव भ  
 13 गिनी लोके सर्वेषामिव भूभुजां न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ॥<sup>1</sup>[4॥\*] स्व-  
 14 दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां<sup>2</sup>-  
 15 जायते क्रिमिः ॥<sup>1</sup>[5॥\*] एतद्धर्मानुशासनं ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणस्य [॥\*]

No 42 —THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME  
 OF MAHARANA KUMBHAKARNA OF MEWAR, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517.

By R R HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER

This inscription found in a Vishnu temple, originally called Kumbhasvāmi temple but now known as that of Māmādēva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārānā Kumbhakarna in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below —

“संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शक्रे १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रथमिः”

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the Samvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 9" × 3' 1'.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., *vīvasat* (l. 9), *udavivahat* (l. 43).

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted — *v* is usually distinguished from *b* except in a few places, e.g., in *vibhāda* (l. 2), *-vabhāva* (l. 10), *-vrat* (l. 11), *Valr* (l. 16), *vrāhmaṇīm* (l. 18), *parābhāḥ* (l. 33) and *bikhyātah* (l. 38), etc., consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-rddivam* (l. 1), *-varnmanam* (l. 2), *-rddamda* (l. 8), *arnnādhē* (l. 22), *durggam* (l. 49), etc. *sa* is used for *śa* in *sīta* (l. 16). *Anusvāra* is used for nasals, as in *bhujamgē* (l. 2), *chamcha* (l. 3), etc., and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in *-rddivam* (l. 1), *-nābham* (l. 3), *-trishnām* (l. 10), etc. Visarga is omitted in *sutavaraś-tan*, *śastra-pūtaś* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *dhāmah* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *praśasti* of the Guhīla rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmasimha down to the Mahārānā Kumbhakarna. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows — vv 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmasimha, vv 182-184 to Arisimha, vv 185-190 to Hammira, vv 191-203 to Kshētrasimha, vv 204-215

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.



to Lakshasēna, vv 216-232 to Mōkala and vv 233-270 to the *Mahārānā* Kumbhakarna. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of **Lakshmasimha** from the previous slab and states that he died (*in battle*) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālwa king **Gōgadēva** (v 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of **Arisimha** who was born in Lakshmasimha's family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of **Hammira**. This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Vishamadhātī* *Pañchānana*, conquered the fort of **Chēlavāta** (v 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son **Kshētrasimha** as heir (vv 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūta (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king **Ranamalla** of Gūjaramandala, who had humbled the pride of the Śaka (*i.e.*, Muhammadan) king (vv 191-193). He took **Dēlavāta** and **Śōdhyāpura** and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant Ranamalla who had suppressed **Dafara Khāna**, the lord of Pattana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of Kshētrasimha. He drank up the ocean in the form of **Amisāha** (v 197), conquered the rulers of **Hādāvati**, brought their country under his sway and laid waste **Mandalakara** (v 198). The next verse says that the kings **Sādala** and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of Gujārāt (vv 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured Amisāha. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārānā* **Lakshasēna** (v 204). This ruler liberated *tristhalī* (*viz* Gayā, Prayāga and Kāśī) from the Śakas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā (vv 205-211). He conquered the hill **Vardhana**, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the **Mēdas** (Mers) (v 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of Śiva and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Mahārānā* **Mōkala**. He is said to have made Brāhmins to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vēdas (v 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated Gayā (vv 218-219). He conquered the whole of **Sapādalaksha** and made **Jālandhara** tremble with fear, while having taken **Śakambhari**, he made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated **Pirōja** and **Mahammada** (v 221). He was devoted to the god Samādhiśvara (Śiva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tīrthas* (bathing ghats) called *Rinamōchana* and *Pāpamōchana*, respectively (v 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of Dēvī and presented a gold Garuda to Vishnu (vv 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Rāyarāyā* *Rānērāyā* *Mahārānā* **Kumbhakarnadēva**. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as **Saubhāgyadēvī**. He was devoted to the god **Ēkalīnga**, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *danda* and *kalāśa* to it, built a high *tōrana* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv 239-241). He was *nīśanka* (fearless) in composing poems and *nīrbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *nīśanka-nīrbhaya* (v 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings **Guhadatta**, **Khumāna**, **Śālivāhana**, **Ajaya** and others and adorned the throne of Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala (v 245). He conquered **Yōginīpura**, subdued the ruler of **Śōdhyā** and destroyed his enemies at **Mandōvara** (vv 247-249). He also captured **Ranavira** after ravaging **Hammirapura**, destroyed **Dhānyanagara**, conquered **Yāgapura** and the mount **Vardhamāna** and humbled the pride of the **Mēdas** (vv 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at **Jayavardhana**. He took **Janakāchala**,

distressed **Champavati**, burnt the city of **Vṛindāvatī** and caused trembling to the hill fort of **Gargarāta** through isvalour (vv 257-259) He burnt **Mallāraṇyapura**, upheld (?) **Simhapurī** by scattering the enemies, desolated **Ratnapura** and imprisoned many kings (v 260) He conquered **Ranastambha** in **Sapādalaksha**, devastated **Āmrādātri**, got the best of his quarrel with **Kōtarā** and laid waste **Bambāvadō** (vv 261-262) He took the fort of **Maṇḍalakara**, won with ease **Hādāvatī**, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory Besides he conquered **Gōpura**, **Shatpura**, **Vṛindāvatī** and **Mandaladurga**, desolated **Viśālanagara** and attacked **Giripura** whose ruler **Gaipāla** fled in terror (vv 263-267) He defeated **Mahammada** at **Śāramgapura** and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of **Pārasīkas** (vv 268-269) The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the **Mālava** king Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, **Lakshmasimha** (v 180) was the ruler of an estate called **Sisōdā** belonging to the **Rānā** (junior branch) of the **Guhila** family of **Mewār** He was killed along with his seven sons<sup>1</sup> while fighting against 'Alāu-d-dīn **Khālji** of **Delhi** in the siege of **Chitor** in A.D. 1303, during the reign of **Rāwal Ratnasimha** of **Mewār** His victory over the **Mālava** king **Gōgadēva**<sup>2</sup> mentioned in v 181 is also corroborated by the **Rānapura**<sup>3</sup> inscription The battle which he seems to have fought with the **Mālava** king appears to have taken place during the reign of **Ratnasimha**'s father **Samarasimha**

**Arīsimha** was killed in the battle of **Chitor** as said above Only the youngest son of **Lakshmasimha**, namely **Ajayasimha** survived to become the ruler of **Sisōdā**.

**Hammīra** (v 185) was the son<sup>4</sup> of **Arīsimha** and succeeded to the throne of **Sisōdā** after his uncle **Ajayasimha** He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of **Chitor**<sup>5</sup>

**Kshētrasimha** (v 191) was the eldest son of **Hammīra** The **Muhammadian** army which he destroyed near **Chitor** (v 192) was that of **Amī Shāh**, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202

The brave **Ranamalla**, who had humbled the **Muhammadian** king and killed many **Muhammadians** (vv 193 and 196), was the ruler of **Idar** and was the son of **Jartkaraṇ**, who was defeated by the **Mahārānā Hammīra**<sup>6</sup> **Dafar Khān**, the ruler of **Pattan** (v 196), was probably **Zafar Khān (II)**, the governor of **Gujarāt** He was a descendant of a converted **Rājput** and fought twice with **Rāo Ranamalla** of **Idar**<sup>7</sup> He afterwards assumed the name of **Muzaffar Shāh**, after making himself independent of the king of **Delhi**<sup>8</sup>

**Amī Sāha** (vv 197 and 202) was evidently the **Sultān Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī** of **Mālwa**,<sup>9</sup> whose defeat by **Kshētrasimha** is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202<sup>10</sup> The ruler **Sādal** and others referred to in v 199 cannot be identified with certainty **Sādal**, however, appears to be the ruler **Sātal** of **Tōdā** in **Jaipur** state

<sup>1</sup> As appears from v 180 of this record.

<sup>2</sup> He is called **Kōkā** and was defeated by 'Alāud dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briggs *Ferozshā* Vol I, p 361)

<sup>3</sup> *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p 114. Also *Ann Rep Arch Sur of India*, 1907-08, p 216

<sup>4</sup> [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in bardic poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p 526—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol 55, p 11

<sup>6</sup> *Bomb Gaz*, Vol. I, pt 1, pp 232-33.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Duff's Chronology*, p 234

<sup>9</sup> *Memours of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol I, p. 407, *Elliot's History of India*, Vol IV, p 552

<sup>10</sup> See also *Bhav Ins*, p 119, verse 29, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

**Mahārānā Lakshasēna** (v 204) was the son of Kshētrasimha. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Muhammadans by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription <sup>1</sup>

**Mōkala** (v 216) was a son and successor of the **Mahārānā Lakshasimha**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc

**Pirōja** or **Firoz** (v 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of **Shams Khān**, brother of the sultān **Muzaffar Shāh** (originally **Zafar Khān** referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by **Mōkala** is also mentioned in other inscriptions <sup>2</sup>

**Mahammad** (v 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for Ahmad (Ahmad **Shāh**) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson<sup>3</sup> of **Muzaffar Shāh**, I, and was contemporary with the **Mahārānā Mōkala** <sup>4</sup>

**Kumbhakarna** (v 233) popularly known as **Kumbhā** was the eldest son of **Mōkala** and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V S 1490 (A D 1433)

**Guhadatta**, **Śālvāhana**, **Khumāna** and others referred to in v 245 were the early predecessors of **Kumbhakarna**. **Guhadatta** was the founder of the **Guhila** dynasty of **Mewār Ajaya** or **Ajayasimha** evidently belonged to the **Sisōdā** branch and was the brother of **Arasimha** referred to in v 182

The lord of the **Pārasikas** referred to v 268 was Sultān **Mahmūd Khālji I** of **Mālava**, who was defeated by the **Mahārānā Kumbhā** at **Sārangpur**—a fact also mentioned in the **Rānapur** inscription. **Mahārānā Kumbhā** had to undergo a series of engagements<sup>5</sup> with the result that he completely broke the power of the **Mālwa** king, as is evident from v 270 of this record

**Gayapāla** (**Gaibā** or **Gōpāla**) of v 267 was the ruler of **Dungarpur State**

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, **Chēlavāta** (v 188) is now called **Jilwārā** in **Mewār**. **Dēlavāta** (v 194) from Sans. **Dēvakulapātaka** is the modern town of **Dēlwārā** about 15 miles from **Udaipur**. **Hādāvati** (v 198) is the territory now called **Hārauti**, which at one time comprised the whole of the present **Kotāh** and **Būndi States**. It is under the **Hādās**, a branch of the **Chauhāns** descended from the **Chauhāns** of **Nādōl** in **Mārwar** <sup>6</sup>. **Mandalakara** (v 198) now called **Māndalgarh** is a fort in the **Udaipur State**. The conquest of this place by **Kshētrasimha** is also mentioned in the **Śringi Rishi** inscription <sup>7</sup>. **Vardhana** (v 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called **Badnor**, a town in **Mewār**

**Jālandhara** (v 221) really a district or town in the **Punjab** is probably meant here for **Jālor** (**Jāvālpur**) in **Mārwar**. **Sapādalaksha** (v 221) was the name of the territory that was under the **Chauhāns**. It roughly included parts of the modern **Jodhpur**, **Jampur**, **Kotāh**, **Būndi** and **Kishan-garh** states and the eastern part of **Mewār** including **Māndalgarh**. **Śākambhari** (v 221) once the capital of the early **Chauhāns** is now called **Sāmbhar**

The temple of **Samādhisvara** (v 222) is now called **Advadji** or **Mōkalji's temple**. It was originally built by the **Paramāra** king **Bhōja** of **Mālwa** when he resided at **Chitor** and was called **Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa** <sup>8</sup> after his surname 'Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa'. It was also known as **Bhōjasvāmindevaṇagatī** <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bhav Ins*, p 119, verse 38

<sup>2</sup> *Bhav Ins*, p 120, śloka 44

<sup>3</sup> Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of **Firoz Tughlak** of **Delhi** is wrong (*Tod's Rājasthān*, Vol I, p 331)

<sup>4</sup> [Probably the reference here is to **Muhammad Tughluq**. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, pp 527 ff—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> See *Briggs' Ferozshah*, Vol IV, pp 203-24

<sup>6</sup> *J A S B* (New Series), Vol XXVII, p 160

<sup>7</sup> *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p 3

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p 4

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p 4.

**Yōginipura** (v 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. **Manḍōvara** (v 249) is the ruined town of Manḍōr in Jodhpur State. **Yāgapura** (v 253) is the town of Jahāzpur in Udaipur State. **Vṛindāvatī** (v 264) is now the town of Būndī in Rājputāna. **Gargarāta** (v 259) is the town of Gāgraun in Koṭāh State. **Simhapuri** (v 260) is the town Sihor in Central India. **Ranastambha** (v 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. **Āmrādādrī** (v 262) is Ambār the old capital of the Jaipur State. **Bambāvadō** or Bōmbāḍā (v 262) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. **Shaṭpura** (v. 264) is the town of Khatakār in Būndī State. **Viśālanagara** (v 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. **Giripura** (v 266) is the town of Dungarpur in Rājputāna. **Sāraṅgapura** (v 268) is an ancient town in Central India. **Kōtarā** is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

### TEXT

[Metres vv 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 181 and 230, *Śikharmā*, vv 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upēndravajrā*, vv 183 and 244 *Āryā*, v 184, *Harṇā*, vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajātrī*, v 187, *Vamśastha*, vv 188 and 243 *Mālmī*, vv 189, 206 and 213, *Indravajrā*, vv 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 266, *Vasantatūlakā*, vv 196, 199, 200, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Sragdharā*, vv 202 and 255, *Bhujangaprayāta*, v 208, *Vantāliya*, vv 211 and 215, *Ruchirā*, vv 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathōddhatā*, vv 226 and 227, *Drutav-lambita*, vv 210, 236 and 257, *Prithvī*, vv 249, 249, 253, 261 and 265, *Amśhikā*, vv 256 and 258, *Vyōginī*, vv 212, 232, 251 and 268, *Sūmī*]

- 1 अर्चिभिः किमु सप्तभिः पश्चित् सप्तार्चिरासतः किंवा सप्तभिरेव सप्तभिरि  
[हायात्स]सप्तसिद्धिं ॥(1) इत्यं सप्तभिरन्वितः सुतवरैस्ते[\*] अस्त्रपूतै[\*]  
सह प्राप्ते बुद्धिभूतुपवैमृपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मसिद्धिं लुपे ॥ १८०[\*] असिद्धिस्वारातेर्भ-  
मरतिलखं(कं) शीर्षकमले स राट् [गो]गादेवी-
- 2 पि हि समधिभूर्मालवभुवः ॥(1) विजिग्ये येनाजौ निजभुजभुजगौर्भमरप्रसारात्  
सिंहांतः समभवदसौ लक्ष्मणपतिः ॥ १८१[\*] इति महाराष्ट्राश्रीलख(ख)मसीवर्षेन  
॥ ॥ अथ असिद्धिहवर्षेन ॥ अभून्सिंहप्रतिमोरिसिंहस्तदन्वये  
भव्यपरंपराव्यो ॥(1) वि(वि)भेदं यो वैरिगर्जेद्रकुंभस्त्रलो-
- 3 मनूनां नखखड्गघातैः ॥ १८२[\*] पीतवैरिगिरादिपुलगादुद्धताद्यदसिद्धिभुजंगात् ॥(1)  
अद्भुतं समभवत्सकलाशामंडनं नवयशस्तुहिनमं ॥ १८३[\*] अश्विघवलया  
कीर्त्यतीव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिसिलितया मन्ये प्रत्याययन्निव भासते ॥(1)  
रजतनिचयं दास्ये चंचलहारजतं तथा
- 4 त्यजतु विपुलां चित्ते चिंतां वनीपकमडली ॥ १८४ [\*] इति अरिसिंह-  
वर्षेन ॥ ॥ अथ महाराष्ट्राश्रीहमीरवर्षेन ॥ हमीरवीरो रत्नरंगधीरो  
वाञ्छाधुरीतजितकेकिकीरः ॥(1) धराधवालकरणैकहीरस्तद्वनी भूषितसिंघुतीर  
॥ १८५[\*] मन्येभूखुरगीरगौः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि सुधियां नो मानसं रोहति ॥(i) चिंताश्मापि जने  
र्ज(ज)डाञ्जजडता धत्तेधिकां भूधवे दानप्रोन्नतचारुपाणिकमले कर्णदयः  
के पुनः ॥ १८६[॥\*] यदर्पितैरर्थिजनस्तुरंगमैरनर्थहेमांगदहारकुडलैः ॥(i) अलङ्कृतः  
कल्पतरौ कृताश्रयं सुराधिराजं हसतीव
- 6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥\*] कटकतुरगहेषाविश्रुते स्थ(त्य)क्तधैर्ये व्रजति च रघुभूपे  
कांदिशिके पलाय्ये(य्य) ॥(i) अहह विषमधाटीप्रौढपंचाननोसावरिपुरम  
[भिदुर्गं] चेलवाटं विजिग्ये ॥ १८८[॥\*] ईश्वराराधने दाने वीरश्रीवरणे  
रणे ॥(i) कदाचिन्नैव विश्रान्तः करो हस्मीरभूपतेः ॥ १८९[॥\*] स चेन्नसिंहे  
तन-
- 7 ये निधाय तेजः स्वकीयं त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥(i) वक्त्रौ यथाकर्कोस्तमयं हि  
भावो महात्मनामत्र निसर्गसिद्धः ॥ १९०[॥\*] इति महाराणाश्रीहमीरवर्णनं ॥  
॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीचेन्नसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ततोरिभूमीशमहेमसिंहः खनादवित्रा-  
सितमत्तसिंहः ॥(i) संभावनामोदितमृत्युसिंहः शशास
- 8 भूमिं किल चेन्नसिंहः ॥ १९१[॥\*] येनानर्गलभल्लदीर्णहृदया श्रीचित्रकूटांतिके  
तत्तत्सैनिकघोरवीरनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥(i) मन्ये यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-  
चाणस्य हेतोरलं भूनिक्षेपमिषेण भीपरवशा पातालमूलं ययौ ॥ १९२[॥\*]  
सग्रामाजिरसीन्नि शौर्यविलसद्दीर्घहेलोल-
- 9 सच्चापप्रोन्नतबाणवृष्टिशमितारातिप्रतापानलः ॥(i) वीरश्रीरणमल्लमूर्जितशकच्चापाल-  
गर्वांतकं सू(स्फू)र्जन्(द्रु)र्जरमंडलेश्वरमसौ कारागृहेविवसत् ॥ १९३ व्यर्थो  
नु नूनं महदुदमो यदिदं वचस्तत्फलं करिणुः ॥(i) शोभ्यां पुरीमातल-  
मूलधारं स्वं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यस्य समरेधि करं कृपाणीमुत्कंचुकामरिभटानिलबद्धदृष्ट्यां ॥(i) दृष्ट्वा  
भुजंगयुवतीमिव वैरिवर्गास्त्रासात्ममुद्रमपि गोः पदतामनैषुः ॥ १९५[॥\*]  
माद्यन्माद्यन्महेभप्रखरकरहतिक्षिराजन्ययूथो यं षा(खा)नः पत्तनेशो दफर  
इति समासाद्य कुठीव(व)भूव ॥ सोयं मल्लो रणादिः
- 11 शककुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीक्षः कारागारे यदीये नृपतिशतयुते संस्तर नापि  
लेभे ॥ १९६[॥\*] शश्वच्चंचलवाजिवीचितरलं सच्छस्त्रतिम्याकुलं माद्यत्कुंभिसपक्ष-  
खेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमीलज्जलं ॥(i) रथ्याशाहचलाचलं स्फुरदमीसाहांबुनाथोज्वलं  
यो शेषादपिव(व)त् शकार्णवमग-
- 12 स्थं तं समूहेखिलं ॥ १९७[॥\*] हाडावटीदेशपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं  
चात्मवशीचकार ॥(i) तदत्र चित्रं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह यो  
वर्भज ॥ १९८[॥\*] यात्रोत्तुंगतुरंगचंचलखुराघातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रणुभिः सेहे

- यस्य न लुप्तश्चिपटलव्याजाव्यतापं रविः ॥(1) तच्चित्रं किमु सादलादि-  
कनृपा यव्याक्त[ता\*]स्तत्रसु-
- 13 स्वयन्ता स्वानि पुराणि कस्तु बलिनां सूक्ष्मो गुरुर्वा पुरः ॥ १८८ अस्माश्चिह-  
ताजिलंपटभटव्रातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छन्नप्रोद्धतपाशुपुंजविसरव्यादुर्भवत्कर्दमः ॥(1) अस्त-  
सामि हतो रणे शकपतिर्यस्मात्तथा मालवक्ष्मापोद्यापि यथा भयेन चकितः  
स्वप्नेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० [॥\*] वारंवारम-
- 14 नेकवारणघटासंघट्टविष्वासितानेकक्ष्मापतिवीरमालवशकाधीशैकगर्वातकः ॥(1) संग्रा-  
माजिरसंगतारिनगरीलुटाकबाहुर्नृप ॥<sup>1</sup> कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो  
गू(गु)र्ज्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ [॥\*] अमीसाहिराहि येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरद्वेक-  
एकागवीरव्रतेन ॥(1) जगत्ता(त्ता)णकदस्य पा
- 15 शौ कृपाण' प्रसिद्धोभवद्भूपतिः श्रेष्ठेतराणः ॥ २०२ [॥\*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य  
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्थिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥(1) ब्रह्मैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसार-  
निवृत्तबु(बु)द्धिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीदेवसिंहवर्ष्मन् ॥ ॥ अथ  
महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणसेनवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेत्रादिव वैजयतो म-
- 16 हासमुद्रादिव सी(शी)तरश्मि ॥(1) मुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव  
तस्मादिह लक्ष्मणेन ॥ २०४ यद्वेशः किमयं न सोम्यवशमः कि  
धर्मसूनानुजः स्फोटः सोयमय व(व)लिखिपदिकामात्रप्रदः कि न सः ॥(1)  
इत्थं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्वितो विद्वद्भिः स्वमुष्मार्जिताधि-
- 17 कधनः श्रीलक्ष्मीसिंहो नृपः ॥ २०५ [॥\*] जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोच्य राज्ञानीतः  
सुमेरुं समाहृतो वा ॥(1) इत्यूहिरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेक्ष्यस्व वनीप-  
कौघाः ॥ २०६ [॥] कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्यत् यस्त्रिस्थलीमोचनतः शक्येभ्यः  
॥(1) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारीलक्ष्म्याभूयो निहतप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ [॥\*]
- 18 रविरिव नलिनीं निशातुषाराब् विधुस्त्रि याम्भवतीं महाघकारा[व] ॥(1)  
पवन इव घनान्नवार्कभासं यवनकराच्च मयाम्भोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ [॥\*] सलोपादिव  
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं मां पक्कादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां  
वं(व)धान्महीवल्लभः ॥(1) आम्भोपालकभूमिपालमसकृच्चक्रेखिलान् याचकान् द-
- 19 त्वा मुक्तिमहामृतं पिष्टगणनानंदयच्चापरं ॥ २०९ [॥\*] न कांचनतुलामसौ  
व(व)हुविधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुला परैः सममवाप्तुमैच्छत् क्वचित् ॥(1)  
गयामपि विमोच्य ता तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गया  
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० [॥\*] अमोचयद्यवनकरादयामवं तुला व्यधादमि-

<sup>1</sup> Dandas unnecessary<sup>2</sup> च is written on the margin.

- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥(1) अपूजयत्कनकभरैर्महीसुरानकारयत्सुरनिलयान्महोन्नतान् ॥  
२११ [॥\*] मेदानाराङ्गसदादुल्लसत्तद्ग्रीधोरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥(1) कारंकार योयही-  
दुग्रतेजा दग्धारातिर्वर्द्धनाख्यं गिरीन्द्रं ॥ २१२ [॥\*] हर्यध्य(क्ष)वल्लक्ष्मणेश्वरस्य  
वृत्तिः[\*]प्रवृत्तिः(त्तिः) स्वभुजार्जितैव ॥(1) ये भुजते चान्यबलोप-
- 21 पन्नं ग्रासं शृगाला इव भूमिपालाः ॥ २१३ [॥\*] यदर्पितैरर्थिगणो महद्भिर्ग्रामैर-  
नतैरभजन्पुत्र[म्\*] ॥(1) तदंकिताः शासनपत्रपूगैरनारतं पुस्तकवानिवासीत् ॥  
२१४ [॥\*] विमोचितान् बहुविधघोरसंस्मृतेर्विलोकितुं जननिचयानिवागमत् ॥(1)  
शिवांतिकं शिवचरित्तः(तः) शिवाधवक्रमांबुजा<sup>१</sup>र्चनपरिहीण-
- 22 कल्प(ल्ल)षः ॥ २१५ [॥\*] इति महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणसेनवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ  
महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीमृगाकमोकलेंद्रवर्णनं ॥ अर्णोधिरेव पारिजातक-  
तरुश्चड्युतेर्द(ड)भृद्यद्वत्सर्वसुपर्वणामधिपतेरासीज्जयंतो यथा ॥(1) ईशस्येव  
षडाननो रघुपतिर्यद्वत् कुशो भूपतेरस्यासीदतुलप्रतापतपनः
- 23 श्रीमोकलेंद्रो गजः ॥ २१६ [॥\*] यो विप्राम(न)मितान् हलिं कलयतः काश्चैन  
वृत्तेरलं वेदं सांगमपाठयत् कलिगलग्रस्ते धरित्रीतले ॥(1) दैत्यान्मीन  
इवापरः श्रुतवतामानंदकांदः कलाकौशल्यव्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥  
२१७ [॥\*] दृष्ट्वैनं रचयंतमद्भुततुलाह्वितः सदा संपतद्यागाज्या-
- 24 हुतितर्पितो व्यचरयत्<sup>२</sup> मन्ये तुलोपायनं ॥(1) तत्पूर्य्य कनकाचल करमहारज्जु  
च चेलोपमौ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ हिमाद्रिमकरोद्दंडं सुरग्रामणीः ॥ २१८ [॥\*] एतन्मुक्त-  
गयाविमुक्तपिष्टभिः प्रोक्ष्यमानां हठादृष्ट्वा संयमिनीं लिखत्यनुशयादित्थं तु  
भूमिं यमः ॥(1) किं सामर्थ्यमपोहितं खलु कलेर्याताः क्व
- 25 कामादयो युक्तं याति न कोधिकारविरतौ वल्लेधिकां कालतां ॥ २१९ [॥\*]  
नलः किमैलः किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्विनेयद्वितयादिहैकः ॥(1) कलंक-  
मुक्तः किमु यामिनीशस्त्रियंजनो यत्र वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥\*] आलोद्याश  
सपादलक्ष्मखिलं जालंधरान् कंपयन् टिङ्गीं शंकितनायकां व्यचर(रच)यन्नादाय  
शाकभरीं ॥(1)
- 26 पीरोजं समहं<sup>३</sup>महंमदं शरशतैराप्राप्य य(०\*) प्रोक्षसन्(त्)कुंतव्रातनिपातदीर्ण-  
हृदयांस्तस्यावधीद्वितिनः ॥ २२१ [॥\*] नृपः समाधीश्वरसिद्धतेजाः समाधिभाजां  
परम रहस्यं ॥(1) आराध्य तस्यालयमुद्धार श्रीचित्रकूटे मणितोरणांकं ॥  
२२२ [॥\*] तीर्थमत्र ऋणमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि क्षितीश्वरः ॥(1) चारु-

<sup>१</sup> Read बुजांविपरिहीण-

<sup>२</sup> Read व्यचरयन्

<sup>३</sup> These two syllables are redundant

- 27 कुंडमपि सेतुमंडनं मंडन विजगतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥\*] यः सुधांशुमुकुट-  
प्रियांगणे वाहनं सृगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मितं सकलधातुभक्तिभिः  
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥\*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाशये हेमनिर्मित-  
मसौ दधौ नृपः ॥(१) येन नीलजलदच्छविर्विभुसंचलायुत इवाधिकं  
बभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ [॥\*] जगति विश्रुतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकलः<sup>१</sup> ॥(१) रविसुरा-  
धिपशेषसमोकलः<sup>२</sup> लः प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥\*] स नृवरो नृवरो-  
चितवेषभृत्[त्][पव\*]नभृत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तर(रः)  
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः<sup>३</sup> ॥ २२७ [॥\*] दंडः ह्येषु भीतोवहितविहित-
- 29 तो बंधनं सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षांगुलीतर्ज्जनाद्यं ॥(१)  
भेदः कोशेषुजानां ह्यतिरपिभनसञ्चारुहेषु नित्यं यस्मिन् शस्त्रस्त्रनर्धमवदिह  
वसुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ [॥\*] व्यस्तैराज्यनं दिन(नं) दिनसधिवैर्दधीच्यादि-  
भिर्दानैरिभिरलंकृतानुकृतिकव्यापारपात्रंभ्यै ॥(१)
- 30 मत्वेतीव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाथोरुदात्तक्रमः श्रीमान्च समस्तदाननिलयं  
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडदान(नं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥\*] अमुष्मादुद्भूतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः  
क्षमः प्रौढक्षोणीपरिवृढदृढोद्भादहतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीयां(या)न्यमति-  
पवित्रेण कलयन् कलौ धर्म्या(र्म्मा)धारो गुरुगुरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥\*] अं-
- 31 गाः संप्राप्तभंगाः स्मृतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा वंया गंगैकसगा गतवि-  
रुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संग्रामदीनाः स्वलदसिघनुषो  
भीतिशुष्कास्तुरकाः(तुरुष्काः) भूमीष्टे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिम्नश्च क्षापतेर्मो-  
कलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥\*] तापं तापं बाहुश्रीर्यान्विमसौ क्षेपं क्षेपं वैरिरक्तो-  
दकीर्षे ॥(१) नाथं नाथं दा-
- 32 व्यमेवं कृपाशी भेदं भेदं भननुबिभं विक्ले ॥ २३२ [॥\*] इति महाराजाधिराज-  
महाराणाश्रीमृगांकमोकल्लेद्रवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-  
राणैरायमहाराणाश्रीकुम्भकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां  
पुण्यस्य गेह श्रियामाधारः सुगुणोत्तरस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धासौजसः ॥(१)  
धैर्यस्या-

<sup>१</sup> "प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकल" or प्रतिभटचितिपै असम अकल, that is, नासि कल्ल खण्डे यस्य अखण्ड इत्यर्थः ।

<sup>२</sup> "रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकल" or रविसुराधिपशेषसम, अकल ॥ २२५ अ विष्णु, तस्य कला यस्मिन् इति विष्णोरश्वत्थवार इत्यर्थः ।

<sup>३</sup> "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकल" मोक मुक्ति कम्बि आददध्वि, मय उय सयै लयी कला अशी यस्मिन् स चासौ मोकलयेति । (म विष्णु and उ शिव)



- 33 पि पराव(व)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्याखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रशास्ति जगती(तीं)  
श्रीकुम्भकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ [॥\*] समस्तदिङ्गडललब्धवर्णः स्फुरत्प्रतापाधरिता-  
र्कवर्णः ॥(१) स्वदानभूम्ना जितभोजकर्णस्ततो महीं रक्षति कुम्भकर्णः ॥  
२३४ [॥\*] उपास्य जन्मचितये गजास्य कनीयसो मातरमेकशक्तेः ॥(१) श्रीकुम्भ-  
कर्णोऽयम्-
- 34 लभि साध्या सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयस्त्रिशक्तिः ॥ २३५ [॥\*] अतः क्षितिभुजा  
मणेर्निजकुलस्य चूडामणिः प्रसिद्धगुणसंभ्रमो जगति कुम्भनामा नृपः ॥(१)  
प्रवीरमदभंजनः प्रसुदितः प्रजारंजनादजायत निजायतेक्ष्णजितेदिरामदिरः ॥  
२३६ [॥\*] वेदानुष्ठित्य पश्चाद्भुवमपि भुजयोस्तां बिभर्त्ति क्षिणोति क्षुद्रान् बद्धा
- 35 बलिद्विड्बलमहिततरक्षत्रमुच्छाद्य हत्वा ॥(१) रक्षोरूपारिमूर्वीभरनृपशमनः सुक्ष्मो  
स्नेच्छघाती जीयात् श्रीकुम्भकर्णो दशविधकृतिक्वत् श्रीपतिः कोपि नव्यः ॥  
२३७ [॥\*] लक्ष्मीशानंदकत्वात् त्रिभुवनरमणीचित्तसंमोहकत्वात्तावासासभूत्वाद्दपुर-  
मलतया कुम्भकर्णो महींद्र. ॥(१) कामं कामोस्तु सोस्त्रीकुरुत इह परं
- 36 स्त्रीजन जेतुकामः संग्रामेनेन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नव स्त्रीजनोस्त्रीजनोपि ॥  
२३८ [॥\*] वि(वि)भ्राजते सकलभूवल्लयैकवीरः श्रीमेदपाटवसुधोद्वरणैकधीरः ॥(१)  
यस्यैकलिंगनिजसेवक इत्युदारा कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिरचलां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ [॥\*]  
एकलिंगनिलय च खंडित प्रोच्चतोरणलसन्मणिचक्रं ॥(१) भानुबिब-
- 37 मिलितोच्चपताकं सुंदरं पुनरकारयं नृ(यनृ)पः ॥ २४० [॥\*] मा भूत्क्षुभ्यदतुच्छ-  
दुग्धजलधिस्त्रच्छोच्छलद्दीचिरुक्तन्न(न्नः)शक्तृतपूर्वपूरुषयशस्तत्संकुच[द्\*]वृत्ति-  
मत् ॥(१) इत्थं चारु विचार्य कुम्भनृपतिस्तानेकलिंगे व्यधात् रम्यान् मंडपह्रिमदंड-  
कलशांस्त्रैलोक्यशोभातिगान् ॥ २४१ [॥\*] निःशकः काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भ-
- 38 यः ॥(१) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुम्भकर्णोऽयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ [॥\*] व्रजति  
विजययात्रां यत्र विचस्तशत्रौ हयखुरष(ख)रघातोत्खातधूलीनिलीन ॥(१)  
गगनतलमशेषं वीक्ष(क्ष्य)संजातमोहो नयति रविरथाश्वान् सारथिः साहसि-  
क्यात् ॥ २४३ श्रीचित्रकूटविभुरयमुन्नततरवारिशतितारातिः ॥(१) गिरिजा-  
चरणसरोरुहरो-
- 39 लंङः कुम्भभूपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ [॥\*] , विख्यात[कीर्त्तिगु\*]हृदत्तखुमाणशालिवाहाजय-  
प्रभृतिभपतिवंशरत्नं ॥(१) श्रीक्षेत्रलक्ष्मणनृपमोकलभमिपालसिंहासनं सफलयत्यव

- कुंभकर्णः ॥२४५॥\*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नार्या निरतरमचोकरद्व-  
दास्यं ॥(१) ता कुंभकर्णनृपतेरिह कः सहेत बाणावलीमसम-  
40 संगरसंचरिणोः ॥ २४६ ॥\*] योगिनीपुरमजयमप्यसौ योगिनीचरणकिकरो नृपः ॥(१)  
कुतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोग्रहीत् ॥२४७ ॥\*] अरिदमः स्नाहिसरो-  
जलग्नं विशोध्य शोध्याधिपतिप्रतीप ॥(१) अस्तुद कंटकमिहतेजा भंक्कमिह-  
पद्ममितलेसशिच्या ॥ २४८ ॥\*] येन वैरिकुलं हत्वा
- 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(१) अनायि शांति(ति)<sup>१</sup> रोषा[ग्नि]र्नागरीनयनाबुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥\*]  
विगृह्य हस्मीरपुरं शरोत्करैर्निगृह्य तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(१) पर्यग्रहीदं-  
वु(वु)जमंजुलोचना महीमहेद्रो नरपालकन्याकाः ॥ २५० ॥\*] नानादिभ्यो(ग्भ्यो)  
राजकन्याः समेत्य क्षोणीपालं कुंभकर्णं अयंते ॥(१) सत्वं रत्नं जायते  
सागरादौ
- 42 युक्तं विष्णोर्वक्ष एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥\*] आत्ताः काश्चिद्वेन प्रतिनृपति-  
भटान् दंडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राजन्यैर्वयैर्हैनगजतुरगैः सार्द्धमानीय  
दत्ताः ॥(१) अन्याः प्रोद्धाविधाटीबलकृतहरणाः प्रत्यहं राजकन्या नव्या  
नव्या महीभृत्सुविधि परिणयत्येष कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥\*] स घा  
धान्यनग-
- 43 रमामूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(१) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥\*]  
ज्वालावलीवलयिता व्यतनोद्यवालीं मन्त्रीरवीस्मुदवीवहदेध नीरं ॥(१) यो  
वर्द्धमानगिरिमातु(शु) विजित्य तस्मिन्मेदानम(म)दमदबह्विधीनघाचीन्(तु) ॥  
२५४ ॥\*] जवाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीसमालीदमालीकरालीप्रताली ॥(१) ग-
- 44 भीराधकारं क्षणाद्यस्य संख्येक्षिपत्क्षेप्यमन्यैर्नयद्भूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥\*] जनकाचलमुच्च-  
शेष(ख)रं बलवन्मालवनाथमस्तुके ॥(१) ध्रुवरं गिरिदुर्गमुद्धतस्वरं वाममिव  
न्यधादयं ॥ २५६ ॥\*] महोच्चजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्ष्मापतेर्गले पदमिव  
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(१) सरांसि जयवर्द्धनेकत पुरेपि यो
- 45 वर्द्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रसुग्रद्युतिः ॥ २५७ ॥\*] जनकाचलमग्रहीदलं  
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(१) गिरिसुंदरखोलखडनावनिवक्षाबुध एष भूपतिः  
॥ २५८ ॥\*] प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवपराजयजन्महेतुवृदावतीपुरमदीदहदेषवीरः ॥(१) त-  
र्गराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन संक्षोभमाप यदपारपराक्रमे

<sup>१</sup> This however spoils the metre.

<sup>२</sup> Wrongly used for *udavāhaya* ?

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmis=tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *untañ=cha* for *uktañ=cha* in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *mvarttana*s of land in the Jalāra-grāma village situated in the Kashmāndī-vishaya to *āchāryya* Āryyanandin of the Jambūkhaṇḍa-gana for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adhūrāja* Indrananda, the son of **Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja** of the **Sēndraka** family. Indrananda is further stated to have been the favourite of the **Rāshtrakūta king Dēja-Mahārāja**. The grant registered in the charter was made when **845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired**. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of **Varddhamāna**, the 24th Jaina Tirthamkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palæographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Mauryya emperor Chandragupta in B C 312-13<sup>1</sup>—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession<sup>2</sup>—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get **A D 532-33 as the date of our record**. But, considering the palæography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early, and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indrananda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *adhūrāja* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas<sup>3</sup> only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwan plates of Jayaśakti<sup>4</sup> furnish the following pedigree —

Bhānusakti  
|  
Ādityaśakti  
|  
Nikumbhallaśakti  
|  
Jayaśakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā<sup>5</sup> grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi<sup>6</sup> in the Bijāpur District and mention the prince Bhīmaśatti(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, i e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalwan plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indrananda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēsin II<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, pp. 273 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Bharata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 51.

i-b

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii-a

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

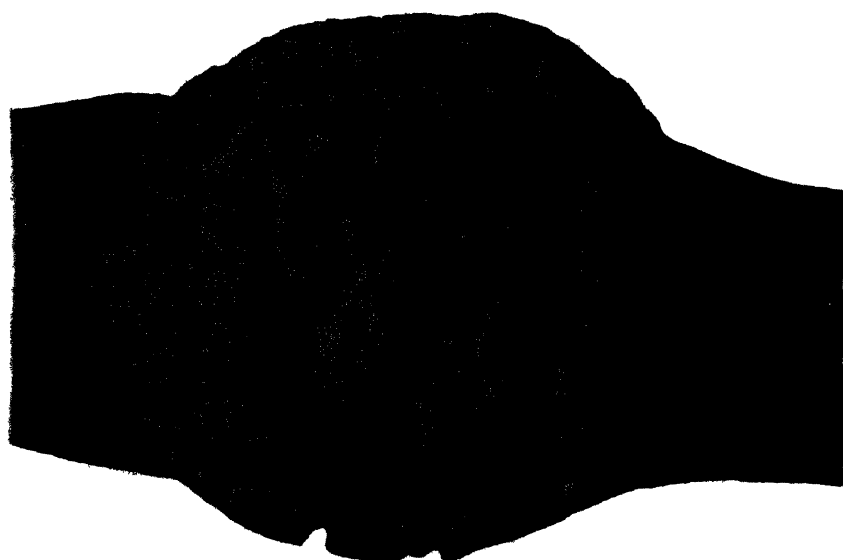
ii-b

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

iii-a

6 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16  
 17 18 19 20

SEAL OF THE GOKAK PLATES



From a photograph

SCALE FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE

Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indrananda is also a hitherto unknown king of the Rāshtrakūta family. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshtrakūtas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated Śaka 675<sup>1</sup>. But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars<sup>2</sup>. Next come the Poona plates of Krishnarāja of Śaka 680<sup>3</sup>. The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshtrakūta inscription in the Dekkan<sup>4</sup>. We do not know, however, whether Dējja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhēd branch of the Rāshtrakūtas<sup>5</sup>. Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja*, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kauthēm plates<sup>6</sup> and other inscriptions<sup>7</sup> of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshtrakūtas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars<sup>8</sup>.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record I am unable to identify *Kashmāndivishaya*, *Jalāra-grāma* and *Pūrvvina-grāma* which are not known from other inscriptions. *Jambūkhanda* after which the *Jaina gana* took its name is identical with *Jamkhandi*<sup>9</sup>, not far away from Gōkāk.

## TEXT

## First Plate Second Side

- 1 ॐ Svastī || Varddhatām Varddhamān-ēndōr=Varddhamāna-gaṇ-ōdadbhēh śāsanam  
nāśita-  
2 ripōr=bhāsuram mōha-śāsanam || [ 1\* || ] Ih=āsyām=avasarpīṇyān=Tīrttha-  
3 karānām chaturvīṃśatitamasya sanmatēh śrī-Varddhamānasya varddhamā-  
4 nāyām tīrttha-santatāv=Āguptāyikānām rājñām=ashtāsu varsha-śatē-  
5 shu paṃcha-chatvāriṃśad-agrēshu gatēshu Rāshtrakūt-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-Dē-

## Second Plate First Side

- 6 jja-mahārājasy=ābhimatah śrī-Sēndrak-āmala-kul-ānbar-ōdita-dī-  
7 pra-divākarō Vijayānanda-Maddhyama<sup>10</sup>-rāj-ātma-jah śrīmān-Indranand-ādhi-  
8 rājah sva-vamśyānām=ātmanas=cha dharmma-vrddhayē Kashmāpdi-vishayē

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 111

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol XIV, p 121 f n 5 and Vol XVIII, p 238

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Bharata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, Vol VIII, p. 166

<sup>4</sup> It is not certain whether Avidhēya of the Pāndarangapall grant (*Mye Arch. Rep.*, 1929, pp 197 ff) was a Rāshtrakūta king. The Tiwarkhēd plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol XI, p 276) and the Updikavātikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol VIII, p 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.

<sup>5</sup> The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Goyja) and Goyja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnatak Historical Review*. The letter *Dē* is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, i.e., 10th century A. D.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 21

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (above, Vol XII, pp. 303 ff.) and the Nīlguṇḍa plates of Vikramaditya VI (*ibid*, pp 142 ff)

<sup>8</sup> See *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, pt II, pp 342 and 343

<sup>9</sup> See *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol I, pt II, p 43.

<sup>10</sup> The letter *ma* is inserted below the line.

- 9 parvvata-pratyāsanna-Jalāra-grāmē Jambūkhanda-ganasthāya jñāna-  
 10 darśana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyanandyāchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

*Second Plate Second Side*

- 11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārtham śikshaka-glāna-vrddhānām cha tapasvinām vai-  
 12 yāprity-ārtham grāmasy=ōttaratah Pūrvvīna-grāma-virēya-sīmakam da<sup>1</sup>  
 13 kshinēna Muñja-jalamārgga-paryyantam aparatō(a)h Ēndāvīrut-sa-  
 14 hita-valmīkam tasmād=uttaratah pushkara(i)nī tataś=cha yāvat=pūrvva-virēya-  
 15 kam rāja-mānēna pamchāsan-nivartana-pramāna-kshētran=da-

*Third Plate First Side*

- 16 ttavān=ētaḍ=yō haratī sa pamcha-mahāpātaka-samyuktō bhavatī || Un(k)tañ=  
 cha  
 17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhih yasya yasya yadā bhūmī  
 18 [ta](s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || [2 ||\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā  
 yō harēta vasundharām  
 19 shashtim varsha-sahasrānī vishtāyām jāyatē krimih [[3 ||\*] Shashtim  
 varsha-sahasrānī  
 20 svargē nandatī bhūmīdah āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē  
 vasēt ④ 4 ||\*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Hail ! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Varddhāmāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhāmāna-gana and who has driven away his foes, prosper !

(Lines 2-16) When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Varddhāmāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tīrthamkaras, had elapsed, the illustrious *adhīrāja* Indrananda, the son of Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sēndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dējja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure in the village of Jalāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kashmāndī to Āryyanandyāchāryya, who belonged to the Jambūkhanda-gana and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics

(The boundaries of the land are) —to the north of the village the boundary is the *virēya* of the Pūrvvīna village, to the south, up to the Muñja canal, to the west, the ant-hill including Ēndāvīrut, to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern *virēyaka*

(L 16) He who takes this away incurs the five great sins Further it is said —

(Vv 2 4) (The usual imprecatory verses)

<sup>1</sup> The letter *dz* seems to have been corrected from *de*

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